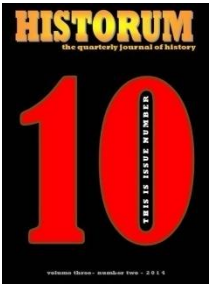
HISTORUM

the quarterly journal of history

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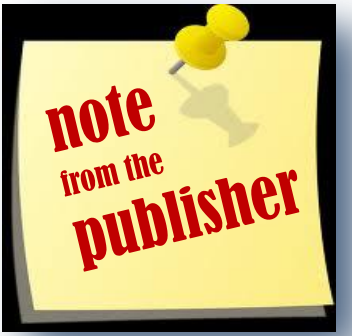
Volume Three
Number Two
Second
quarter
2014
Serial
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1.
Historum the quarterly journal consists of the best writing from the **Historum** web site, an English language history forum whose membership is composed of history aficionados from all corners of this event filled globe we call home.

2.
Now that this journal is a reality we leave it to Historians to look at this accident and prove that it was inevitable. [*that's an old joke*]

3.
We find agreeable these words of jurist Lewis Powell, "History balances the frustration of 'how far we have to go' with the satisfaction of 'how far we have come.' It teaches us tolerance for the human shortcomings and imperfections which are not uniquely of our generation, but of all time."

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Our 10th issue. Who would have thought?

Enjoy!

Thanks
Pedro



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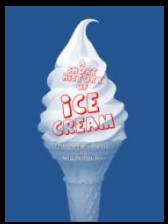
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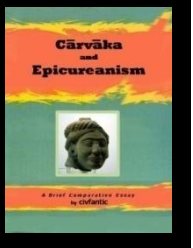


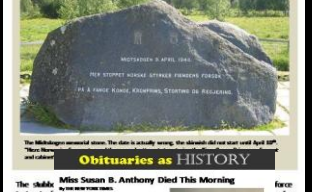


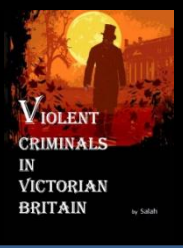


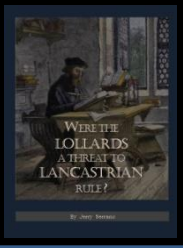


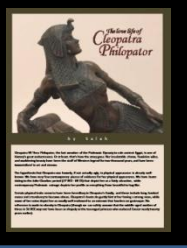






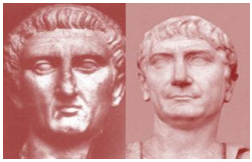


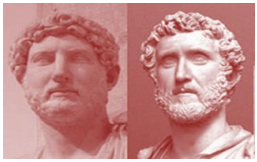






Marcus Aurelius
and the Five Good Emperors





by Salah

The 'Five Good Emperors' ruled the Roman Empire between 96 and 180 CE; they include Nerva (96-98), Trajan (98-117), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-161), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180). Edward Gibbon claimed that this era was a 'golden age of mankind', and perhaps it was - if one is content to ignore the hundreds of thousands of slaves and poor laborers across the Empire.

What actually made these emperors "good"? The most simplistic answer is that they weren't Domitian. Nerva was the successor to the last Flavian, a paranoid and unattractive personality who had become profoundly unpopular with the Senate. All five of these emperors seem to have enjoyed predominately cordial relationships with the Senate and ruling families of Rome, and this must have a lot of influence on their favorable portray in contemporary sources. Only Hadrian seems to have gotten mixed reviews from the Senators.

Nerva was a dry, sickly old man, who may have played a role in the demise of Domitian. Trajan was a military hero both before and after his ascension; he was possibly homosexual. It was thanks to his military adventures in Dacia and Mesopotamia that the Empire reached its greatest territorial extent. Hadrian was a Hellenophile with a tempestuous personality, who was one of the few Roman emperors who actually traveled to the distant lands he ruled. Antoninus Pius stands out for having perhaps the most boring, peaceful reign of any emperor.

Yet it was Marcus Aurelius who faced the twin challenges of plague and 'barbarian invasion'. The famous 'Antonine Plague' ravaged the Empire during his reign, decimated the ranks of the legions. He spent most of his reign driving back Germanic and Sarmatian raiding parties, some of which penetrated the borders as far as Ravenna.

On this forum and elsewhere, Marcus Aurelius has been criticized on various grounds. Some have claimed that he spent more time writing philosophy than he did defending his Empire - a claim so ludicrous as to be insulting. Indeed, Marcus opens his famous *Meditations* by informing us that he was 'on campaign amongst the Quadi'.

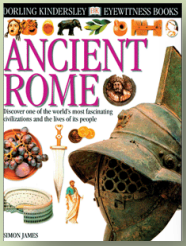
Marcus has also been criticized, even mocked for allowing his supposedly degenerate son Commodus to succeed him. We have no favorable or unbiased accounts of Commodus' life and reign; however, even if he was as 'bad' as we are told, these negative traits might not have revealed themselves before his ascension. There is little to suggest that he enjoyed a close relationship with his father - who must have been busy and 'stressed' to an extreme throughout his son's youth.

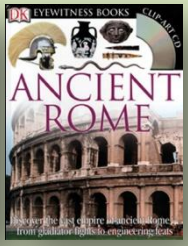
Even if Marcus recognized that his son was unfit to rule the Empire, what was he to do? If Marcus had 'adopted' a successor like his predecessors had, he would have been sowing the seeds of discord. Either the adoptee would execute Commodus, or else there would have been the constant risk of the nobility or the legions proclaiming Commodus as an alternative ruler. Likely enough, Commodus had not yet revealed his bad traits, or else Marcus had neglected to discern them. And again, this is if we assume that Commodus - who managed to keep the Empire in one peace for twelve, long years - was really such a monster.

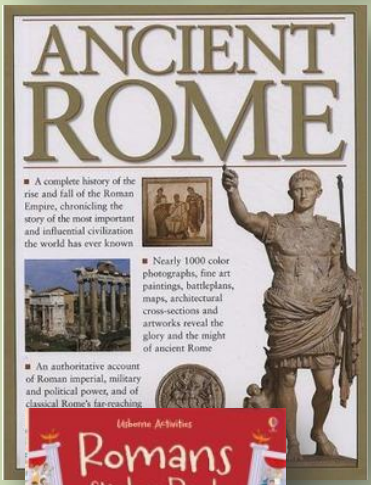
The Five Good Emperors are alternatively known as the 'Adoptive Emperors', because all of them except Nerva were adopted by their predecessors. It is worth pointing out that these adoptions were not a deliberate policy; they occurred simply due to the failure of the previous emperor to produce a male heir. Often overlooked is Lucius Verus (born Lucius Ceionius Commodus), who was adopted by Antoninus along with Marcus in 138. He shared the Empire with Marcus from 161 to 166, and won a series of victories against Parthia. Unfortunately, he became the first prominent victim of the devastating Antonine Plague.

Recommended

reading for the youngster in your life.







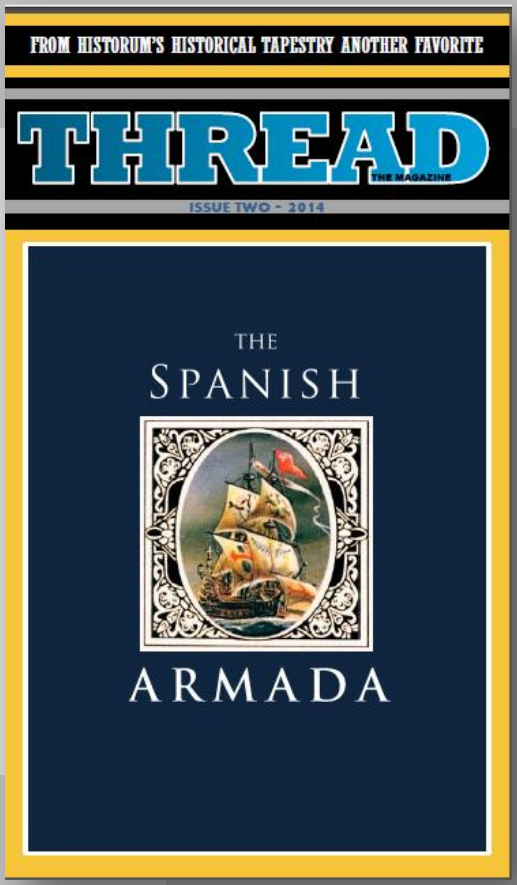


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Check out our sister publication ‘Thread the magazine’.

This fun and interesting thread on *The Spanish Armada* can be downloaded from here:

http://www.mediafire.com/view/b3p45x8h1pevcu0/Thread_Magazine_No.-2_-_Spanish_Armada.pdf



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Cut and paste into your browser.



THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA – 479 BC

The battle of Plataea decided the final defeat of the Persian army in Greece and the definite liberation of all Greece.

by Mnesiphilus

It was the greatest land battle which took place in Greece during the 5th century BC.

Approximately 150,000 men participated in the battle from both sides and it lasted for about 15 days.

Considering that the Greek heavy infantry included more than 35,000 hoplites, it was one of the greatest battles of all times involving heavily armoured infantry forming a phalanx.

Moreover, the battle was decided on very delicate tactical moves.

After his defeat in Salamis, king Xerxes retreated to Minor Asia with the bulk of his army leaving in Thessaly his brother in law Mardonius in charge of a smaller but strong force. Herodotus reports that the total Mardonius' army numbered 300,000 soldiers including cavalry. Although this number is probably an exaggeration, his cavalry was at least 10,000 strong including the light and the heavy units. This gave him a great advantage over the alliance of the Greek cities which was lacking any considerable cavalry. In the spring of 479 BC, Mardonius invaded S. Greece and established his camp in Thebes, Boeotia.

Initially, the Spartans hesitated to take action outside Peloponnese, and remained behind their fortifications in Isthmus. However, under pressure by their non-Peloponnesian allies, Athens, Megara, and Plataea, they finally decided to dispatch a strong force of 5,000 Spartans assisted by a large number of helots and 5,000 perioeci hoplites in support of Athens. This army, which roughly corresponded to half of the total manpower of Sparta, marched to Isthmus.

The leader of the Spartan army was Pausanias, who was replacing as regent and army commander his cousin, king Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas, who was still underage. There, they were joined by other Peloponnesian allies, who wished to participate in the expedition and fight for the freedom of Greece. The Peloponnesians marched from Isthmus to Eleusis, where they met 8,000 Athenian troops, and after crossing Cithaeron Mountain all together, entered Boeotia.

As soon as the two armies faced each other, Mardonius attempted to irritate the Greeks by a vehement cavalry attack in order to lure them to advance into the plain. After a fierce battle between the Persian cavalry and the hoplites of Megara and Athens assisted by archers, the commander of the Persian cavalry Masistius fell off his horse and was killed. The Persians were left leaderless and decided to retreat to their camp. The victorious Greeks advanced cautiously in the lower hills towards Plataea.

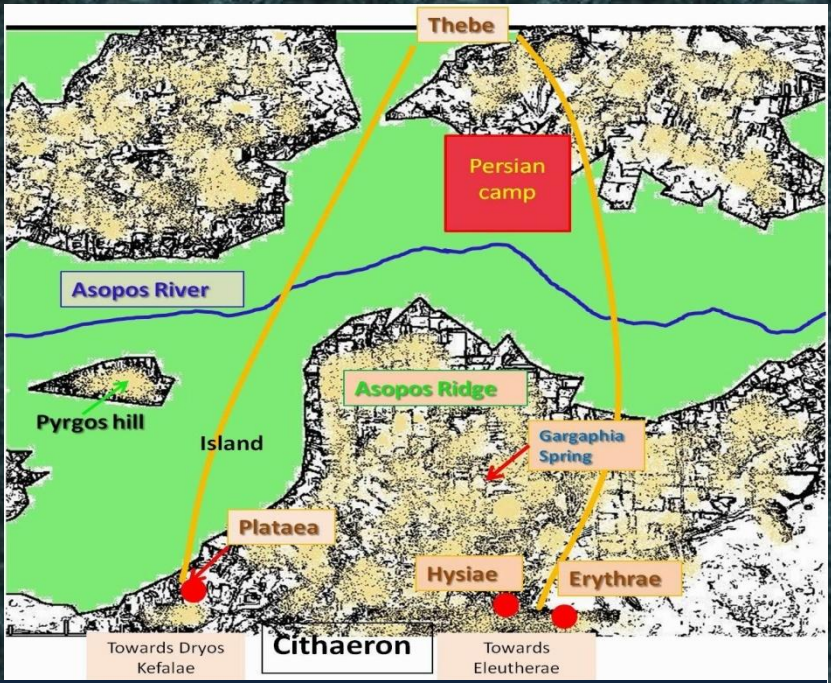
Mardonius was under pressure to take the offensive since his position was strategically weak. He knew about the Greek naval campaign to Ionia. If that expedition succeeded to set Hellespont under Greek control, his communication and supply lines would have been terminally cut. However, Mardonius was not succeeding in luring the Greeks to make a wrong move. Therefore, he had no other option but to delay his attack. The stalemate lasted for seven days with the two armies facing its other along Asopos River.

Then Mardonius' Theban allies suggested him to try to cut the supply routes of the Greek army at Cithaeron hoping that such an action would irritate the Greek commanders and provoke a counterattack in the plains along the two roads Plataea-Thebes or Erythrae-Thebes, where the Greek phalanx would be vulnerable to cavalry. The Persian cavalry was successful in capturing a supply train of the Greek army at one of the Cithaeron passes. Then the Greek commanders attempted to block the charging route of the Persian cavalry by a much extended hoplite array. This tactic was successful for a couple of days but the long front of the Greek army allowed the Persian cavalry to find gaps and destroy the spring which was supplying the Greeks with water.



The successes of the Persian cavalry brought the Greek army under serious pressure forcing them to retreat towards Cithaeron. Although Herodotus presented the battle of Plataea in length dedicating most of his ninth book to its details, his narration is vague and self-contradicting in many points. In particular the events of the last day of the battle are difficult to explain. A careful analysis of Herodotus' exact words may help to understand the battle tactics and reason the outcome. However, alternative interpretations are possible. A reasonable explanation of the events of the last day of the battle is the following:

At that critical moment when the Greek army came under serious pressure by the Persian cavalry, the Greek commanders instead of loosing courage devised an ingenious stratagem for trapping the Persians in a region of the battlefield which was not suitable for cavalry attacks. The main concept of this complex strategic plan was that the Spartan regiment assisted by the Tegeans was separated from the bulk of the Greek army assuming the role of bait, while the Athenians guided by the Plataeans hid among the hills of Asopos Ridge. The Persians not seeing the Athenians took the risk to attack the isolated Spartans in a region of the battlefield which was unfavourable for the cavalry expecting that their numerical superiority was sufficient for the victory. When the hiding Athenians attacked, the Persian line collapsed, Mardonius was killed, and the Greeks won a brilliant victory.



Map 1: The battlefield of Plataea. The green area represents land below the 310 m elevation above sea level. It represents flat terrain (altitude 270 – 310 m), which was most suitable for cavalry charges. The hilly region of Asopos Ridge, which is marked with dark texture, rises 20-60 m above the plain. The two main roads connecting Thebes with Plataea and Erythrae-Hysiae respectively are marked with yellow lines.

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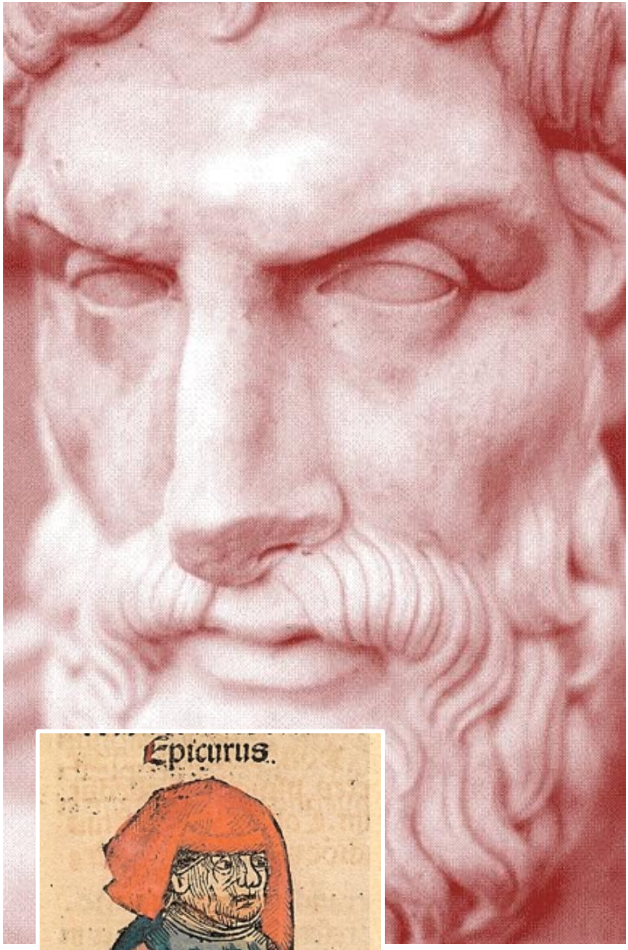
Cārvāka
and
Epicureanism



A Brief Comparative Essay

by civfantic

Merriam-Webster defines "religion" as "an organized system of beliefs, ceremonies, and rules used to worship a god or group of gods." Few concepts have had a greater impact on human history than religion; every culture, every society, and every civilization in human history has invariably been a host to some sort of religion at some point in time. However, just as the concept of religion is universal and is found in many different cultures, so is the questioning of religion, and the tradition of skepticism and rationalism. For at least 2500 years, there have been humans who questioned the religious beliefs and practices of their respective cultures, and propounded alternate explanations of the universe and the "meaning of life" in place of traditional religious explanations. This paper will briefly present the views of such individuals from two very different civilizations, namely ancient India and ancient Rome. In particular, this paper will compare the views of the Charvaka school of Indian philosophy, with the views of the Epicurean school of thought.





Epicurus (Greek: Ἐπίκουρος, *Epíkouros*, "ally, comrade"; 341–270 BC)



Before delving into the philosophy of the Charvakas, it is important to first provide some background about the religion and philosophy of the ancient Indians. The religion of ancient India was characterized by ritual chants from the Vedas, a corpus of sacred texts that were passed on orally by the Brahmans, the priestly class. The word *veda* literally means "knowledge" or "wisdom", and shares a common linguistic ancestor with the German word *wissen*, as well as the English word *wisdom* itself. [1] The Vedic corpus consisted of three main texts – the *Rig Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, and the *Sama Veda* – as well as a collection of prose texts known as the *Brahmanas*, which contain instructions for the proper conduct of rituals. In the orthodox Hindu view, the Vedas are regarded as infallible texts that are divinely inspired, or "heard" (*shruti*) rather than merely "created" by man. The Indian schools of thought (*darshanas*) that accept the authority of the Vedic corpus are called the *astika* ("orthodox") schools.

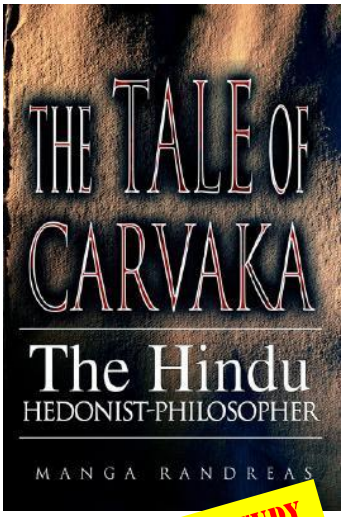
Around the mid-1st millennium B.C.E., there was a wave of intellectual "dissent" in India that resulted in the emergence of heterodox, or *nastika*, schools of thought. These "heterodox" schools of thought were characterized by their skeptical and rational outlook, and their rejection of the Vedic corpus. The three main heterodox schools included Buddhism, Jainism, and Charvaka; of the three, the Charvaka school, also known as Lokayata, was the most radical, and the fiercest in its criticism of the Vedas and the orthodox Hindu sects. Likewise, the Charvakas and other *nastika* schools were reviled by the Brahmans and orthodox philosophers as ignorant and misguided. For example, the 9th century orthodox philosopher Vachaspati Mishra in his exposition of Indian systems of thought writes: "…even beasts, with a view of obtaining the beneficial and avoiding the harmful, move towards a field green with soft, fresh grass and leave one full of dried grass and thorns. The Nastika, not knowing what would lead him to his own good or what would lead him into harm, is more beastly than a beast." [2]



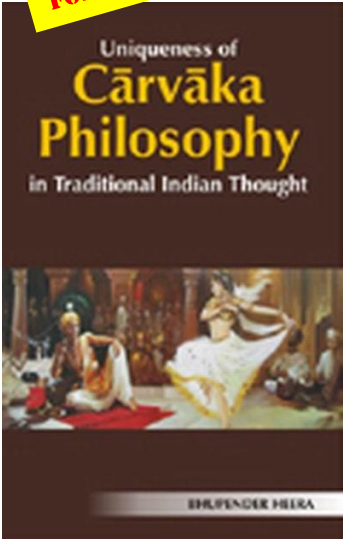
Moving on to the comparison of the Charvaka school of thought with the Epicurean school, one of the major similarities between the two schools was their shared philosophy of materialism. Epicurus argued that the whole universe, including human beings as well as the gods themselves, were composed of nothing but atoms (extremely tiny, indestructible particles) and "void", or empty space. [3] This view of the universe is elaborated quite lengthily and eloquently by Lucretius (1st century B.C.E.) in his poem *De Rerum Natura* ("On the Nature of Things"). In this poem, Lucretius argues that the narrative of divine creation is fundamentally illogical, because "nothing can be created from nothing" and anything that is created cannot be reduced to nothing. Thus, the universe in Lucretius' view is eternal and uncreated, and all natural phenomena can be explained in terms of interactions between matter. The Charvakas also held similar ideas about the composition of the universe and the natural world. The Charvakas believed that the entire universe was composed of four elements – fire, earth, water, and air – and that all phenomena, without exception, were the result of interaction between the elements. Even human consciousness and intelligence, according to the Charvakas, arise only from the natural elements, and intelligence is destroyed when the body is destroyed. [4] This was in contrast to other Indian schools of thought, who maintained that souls could exist separately from the body and carry intelligence with them after death; the Charvakas, on the other hand, rejected the very notion that separate souls could exist, and considered the physical death of a human being to also mark the permanent end of that human's consciousness.

The Epicureans and the Charvakas both criticized religion and denounced practices that they considered irrational and superstitious, but their exact religious philosophy differed in some ways. Despite being staunch materialists, as described above, the Epicureans did not actually reject the existence of gods. [5] Instead, they believed that the gods were "blessed beings" who lived lives of "perfect pleasure" and did not intervene in the human realm; thus, according to Epicurean philosophy, humans should set aside their fear of "divine punishment" and instead look to the gods as positive role models for living pleasurable, fulfilling lives. The Charvakas, on the other hand, were explicitly atheistic in their philosophy, rejecting not only the concept of gods, but also the concept of *svarga* (heaven), *apavarga* (liberation), and reincarnation of the soul (*atma*), as well as the concept of the caste system (*chaturvarna*). [6] They were especially critical of the Vedas and of the sacrificial rituals associated with the orthodox sects, sarcastically asking, "If a beast slain in a sacrificial rite will itself go to heaven, then why not offer your own father in a sacrifice?" [7] The Charvakas regarded the Vedas as nothing more than the "incoherent rhapsodies of knaves" that suffer from "untruth, self-contradiction, and tautology", and denounced the associated Vedic religious rituals as "mere means of livelihood for those [i.e. the Brahman priests] who have neither manliness nor sense." [9]

Perhaps the single greatest similarity between the Epicurean and Charvaka schools of thought, however, lies in their common philosophy of how to pursue "happiness" in their day-to-day lives. The Epicureans believed that the highest form of good was "pleasure", defined particularly as the freedom of pain in the body (*aponia*) and freedom from anxiety and disturbance (*ataraxia*). [9] According to Epicurus, true happiness comes from taking pleasure in satisfying our basic desires for food, drink, shelter, and clothing, and not from seeking things that are more difficult to obtain (like fancy food, immense wealth, personal fame and honor, etc.), which tend to increase anxiety and are therefore detrimental to one's happiness. Similarly, the Charvakas believed that the ultimate goal of life should be enjoyment of sensual pleasure and avoidance of pain. [10] Because they believed in neither an afterlife nor the possibility of the soul returning to the world in a new incarnation, the Charvakas emphasized that one should enjoy life to the fullest in the present existence, since the current existence was (in their view) the one and only opportunity for a human being to live. "While life remains," goes a Charvaka saying, "let a man live happily, let him feed on butter even if he runs into debt. For when the body becomes ash, how can it ever return again?" [11]



FOR FURTHER STUDY



Finally, both the Epicureans and the Charvakas shared the similar fate of being relegated into the realm of "fringe thinkers" in their respective civilizations, and of being misrepresented by their opponents for centuries. The Epicureans, in later years, were viewed as "wild, profligate hedonists" who could not control their urges for seeking pleasure. [12] This is a grave distortion of the actual philosophy of Epicurus, which emphasized self-control in seeking pleasures (since the careful choice of pleasures is itself important for maximizing happiness, and over-indulgence can upset *ataraxia*) and a simple lifestyle free of unnecessary luxuries, as described above. The Charvakas, although somewhat less principled than the Epicureans, similarly came under vicious criticism from orthodox writers in India, and were caricatured as being lowly, uncouth, and licentious. One example of such a depiction comes from the 15th century Indian writer Gunaratna, who in a commentary on a much earlier compendium of Indian philosophies says: "They [the Charvakas] take spirituous drinks and meat and also copulate with those unfit to be sexually approached, like the mother, etc. Every year, on a particular day, they assemble and copulate randomly with women. They do not consider *dharma* (ethical duty) to be any anything different from *kama* (sexual pleasure)." [13] Such portrayals were almost certainly stereotypical caricatures that were composed long after the Charvakas had ceased to be an important force in Indian intellectual life, and were clearly meant to demean the Charvakas due to their highly nontraditional and dissenting views.

In conclusion, the Epicurean school in the Greco-Roman world and the Charvaka school of ancient India represented two similar philosophies that arose independently in two very different civilizations. The two schools of thought, though differing in some details (such as the existence or non-existence of gods), can both be described as materialist and rationalist philosophies that challenged the dominant ideologies and beliefs of their respective civilizations. While both eventually faded away into history, the remnants that they left behind are indicative of a rich tradition of skepticism, free thought, and rational inquiry in both ancient India and the ancient Mediterranean world, and support the idea that rationalism is not the monopoly of any one culture or civilization, but is universal and common to humanity as a whole.



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[2] Vachaspati Mishra, "Bhamati," in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed., *Carvaka/Lokayata* (New Delhi: Indian Philosophical Society, 1990), 243.

[3] Walter Englert, ed., *Lucretius: On the Nature of Things* (Newburyport, MA: Focus Pub., 2003), xi.

[4] "The Carvaka System" in Madan Mohan Agrawal, ed., *Sarvadarshanasamgraha of Madhavacharya* (Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, 2002), 4-5.

[5] Englert, *On the Nature of Things*, xiv.

[6] Agrawal, *Sarvadarshanasamgraha*, 17.

[7] Ibid, 18.

[8] Ibid, 7-8.

[9] Englert, *On the Nature of Things*, xv.

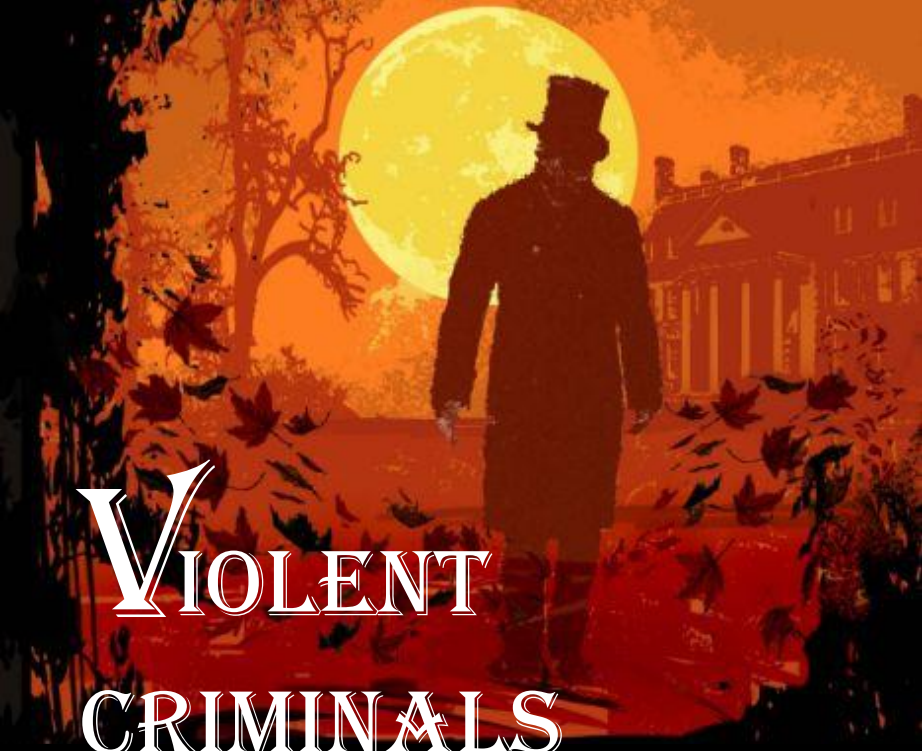
[10] Agrawal, *Sarvadarshanasamgraha*, 5.

[11] Ibid, 19.

[12] Englert, *On the Nature of Things*, xv.

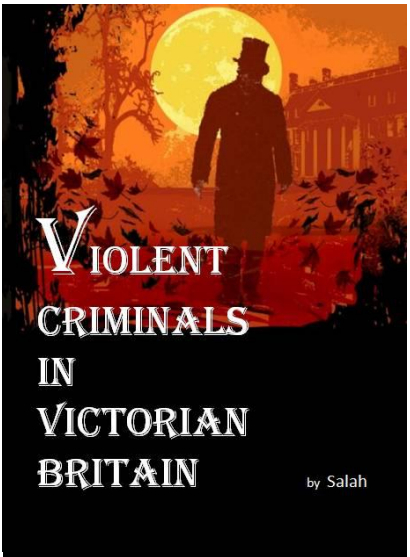
[13] Gunaratna, "Commentary on Haribhadra," in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed., *Carvaka/Lokayata*, 267.

END



Violent Criminals in Victorian Britain

by Salah



John Templeman of Islington was found murdered...

Lord William Russell was found in bed on May 6th, 1840, with his throat cut...

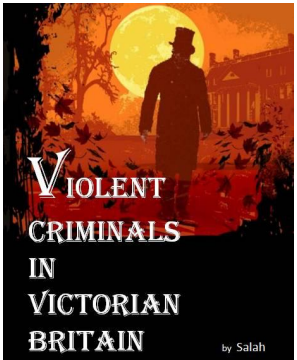
Edward Oxford fired two pistols...

In the early summer of 1840, three then-notorious criminals did time together in London's famous Newgate Prison. In many respects, their fates were archetypal for violent felons in early Victorian England - one was publicly hanged, another was institutionalized as insane, and the third spent his life as a forgotten exile in Australia. Two of the offenders were cold-blooded murderers, but the third had achieved his thirty seconds of fame by aiming his pistols at a Queen.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1840, John Templeman of Islington was found murdered. Local rumor claimed that Templeman was sitting on a small fortune, and now someone had broken into his house during the night, tied him up and blindfolded him, and then tortured and killed him. Suspicion fell on three individuals, one Richard Gould and a neighboring married couple. Only Gould was formally charged with the murder, however, and he was acquitted due to the lack of physical evidence. Gould was a careless man, however; not long after his release, a policeman tricked him into describing his role in the crime. Gould was arrested, and this time was charged with burglary.

Nearly two months later, another murder occurred, but this one scandalized the highest elements of British society. Lord William Russell was found in bed on May 6th, 1840, with his throat cut; suspicion immediately fell on his Swiss butler, Francois Courvoisier. Despite his charming professions of innocence, the case against him grew when it was discovered that he had stashed valuables belonging to his former employer, within his own room. The Russell Murder left the high-born in British society wondering if any of their own servants were capable of thievery - or throat-cutting.

Perhaps the most notorious crime of 1840, however, occurred on June 10th. Eighteen year-old Edward Oxford fired two pistols at a carriage riding up Constitution Hill - a carriage containing the pregnant Queen Victoria, and her young husband, Prince Albert. Albert shielded his wife, and, in a display of royal bravado, the carriage continued on its way, rather than returning to the Palace. Oxford, in the meantime, was swiftly tackled and apprehended. A slight boy of eighteen, he came from a family with a long history of mental illness. He was also of partly African ancestry - which, according to a visiting American abolitionist, spawned a fierce outburst of racist hostility.



Oxford, Courvoisier, and Gould all coexisted in Newgate Prison for much of June. Oxford was amused at all of the attention he was receiving, Gould was caught attempting to escape, and Courvoisier finally confessed to his crime - claiming he had 'fallen under the dominion of Satan' by reading novels that glorified the exploits of historical criminals.

Justice came swiftly for this trio of rogues-cum-celebrities. Gould was found guilty of burglary, but in light of his presumed guilt in the murder of John Templeman, he received a harsh sentence - a life of penal servitude in Australia. Before the end of July, 1840, he was on his way to Sydney, in chains, and destined to be forgotten by history.

Ironically, the would-be regicide probably received the most lenient sentence of the three. Oxford was found insane and sent to an asylum, where he was to spend most of the rest of his life. Finally released in the 1880s, he created a life for himself in Melbourne, Australia, where he married and found work as a house-painter. He died in the spring of 1900, just nine months before the death of Queen Victoria herself.

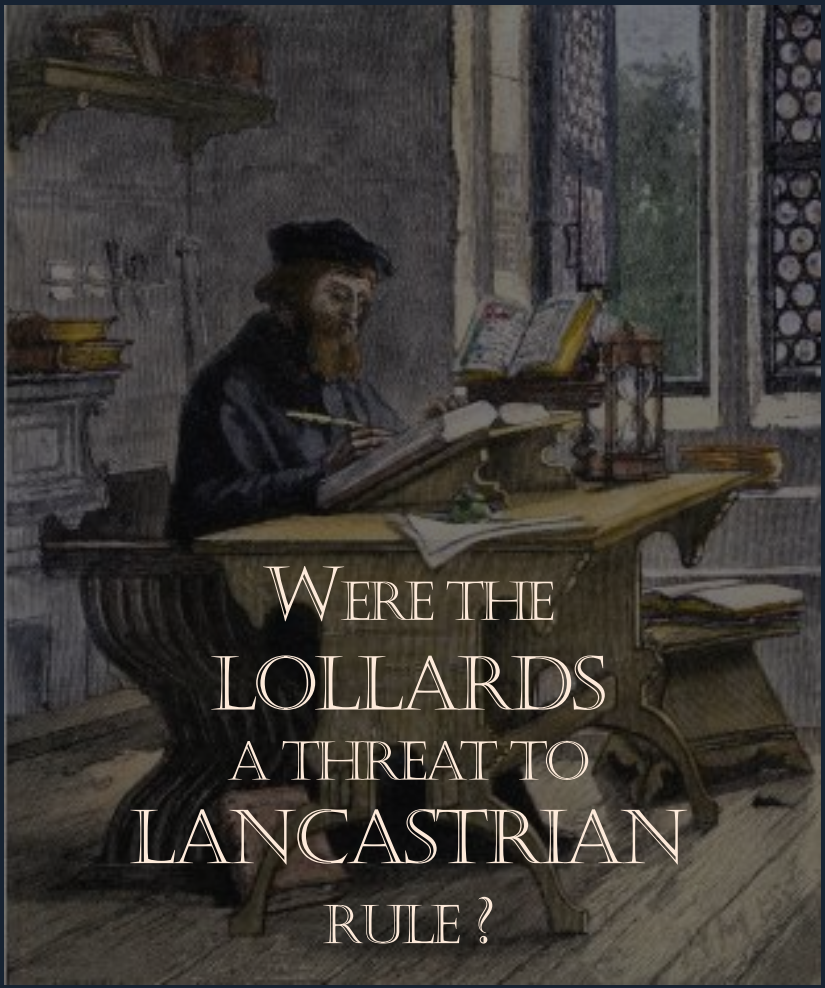
Ironically, the would-be regicide probably received the most lenient sentence of the three.

Francois Courvoisier had become the most infamous of the three, however, and his fate was the cruelest. Sentenced to hang, he was publicly executed at Newgate Prison on July 6th, 1840. Among the 40,000 raucous spectators were at least three celebrities - Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray were present to condemn capital punishment, while the infamous hangman William Calcraft was there to carry it out.

Calcraft was the official hangman of Newgate Prison from 1829 to 1874, and crowds loved him for his cheerful incompetence at his job. Any person hanged by Calcraft was likely to strangle at the end of a short rope. The crowd didn't want to see a quick, clean death with a broken neck, and Calcraft was nothing if not a crowd-pleaser. Such was the fate of the Swiss butler who had sliced his employer's throat.

The Victorian Era witnessed the decline and fall of capital punishment as a means of public entertainment. It also witness a rise in literacy, and the subsequent flowering of newspaper journalism. Courvoisier's gruesome and humiliating execution was one of the last of its kind, whereas the comparative humane punishments of Oxford and Gould - along with the extensive media coverage all three received - were trends that would continue throughout this period.

END

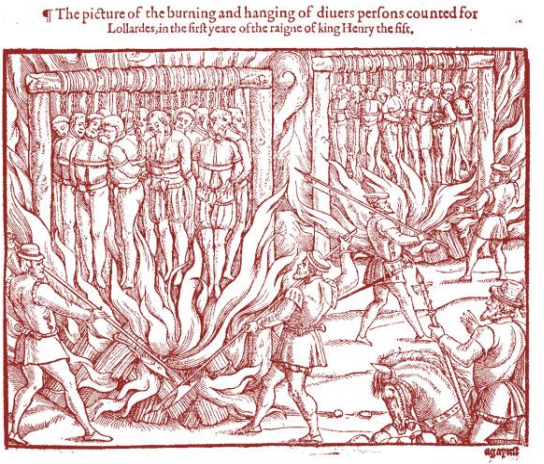


Were the Lollards a threat to Lancastrian rule ?

By Jerry Serrano

"And if any person within the said realms and dominions, upon the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them be before the diocesan of the same place of his commissaries convict by sentence, and the same wicked sect, preachings, doctrines, and opinions, schools and informations, do refuse duly to abjure... before the people in an high place cause to be burnt that such punishment should strike fear into the minds of others, whereby no such wicked doctrine and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors and fautors, in the said realm and dominions, against the Catholic faith, Christian law, and determination of the holy church..."

-De Haeretico Comburendo of 1401



It is during the reign of King Henry IV that the 1401 statute was enacted into law. De Haeretico Comburendo, or the burning of heretics, was passed to deter the Lollard movement from growing. Throughout the late 14th century, Lollardy had become an influential set of ideas stemming from the work of John Wyclif. Wyclif's ideas touched many lives throughout the various social classes in medieval England. After reaching its peak in 1395, the influence of Lollardy had diminished.

Still, Henry believed the Lollards to be a real threat to his kingdom. The Revolution of 1399 saw the deposition of Henry's cousin, King Richard II, and the Lancastrian family placed on the throne. With continuous threats of rebellion as well as rumors of Richard's return still haunting his rule, Henry desperately sought to legitimize his rule. The 1401 statute did not solve the issue of rebellion or rumors, but demonstrated the might of the secular arm against a group who were perceived as a true threat to Henry's rule. Were the Lollards that much of a threat to the stability of the Lancastrian crown? Were they that much of a menace to England?

This work will investigate whether Lollardy was a true threat to the early Lancastrian kings, focusing on both Henry IV and Henry V. The first part of the work will examine origins of the Lollard movement. The ideas of John Wyclif will be explored as well as the growth of the movement throughout the late 14th century. Part two will attempt to determine whether the Lollard movement was a genuine threat to the Lancastrian kings. It will show that Henry IV and his supporters used the Lollard movement as a way to gain the English throne. With the backing of the English Church, Henry sought to legitimize his family's line by taking the necessary steps to eradicate Lollardy. Finally, the last part of the work will provide an analysis of the Lollard influence upon the Lancastrian kings. The ideas of the Lollard movement were not a threat to the early Lancastrian kings, but became influential in many areas of domestic policy.



Richard II, King of England





Henry IV and Henry V

The Foundation of the Lollard Movement: John Wyclif

Heresy, as defined by Edward Peters, is when an individual chooses a belief that "representatives of orthodox Christian communities defined as heterodox and therefore untenable by a true Christian". When examining Wyclif's body of work, there is no doubt that he would fit the criteria of a heretic. From his call for an English translation of the bible to his controversial tracts on the Eucharist, Wyclif would have a profound influence on late 14th century religious practice.

Wyclif arrived in Oxford around 1356 where he began both his academic and ecclesiastical studies. Wyclif received his doctorate of theology in 1372 and remained associated with Oxford for the rest of his life. However differences with Church superiors caused immediate frustration and curtailed his ambitions.

In accordance with these personal frustrations, Wyclif began to openly criticize the Church for its many abuses as early as 1372. One of Wyclif's constant attacks against the organized Church was the vast amount of wealth accumulated by priests, bishops, and monks. It was customary of the time period for people to give money or land to monasteries and churches as a way to help their souls secure a place in heaven. The growth in wealth and prestige saw clerics and monks integrated into feudal society. This assimilation into feudalism not only produced a profit for the clergy, but it gave them power in positions of secular authority. These positions within the government provided another source of income outside of their religious duties. For example, in 1371, William of Wickham was not only the Bishop of Winchester, but he was also chancellor of England. Thomas Brantingham was the Bishop of Exeter while, at the same time, the treasurer of England. In 1381, Simon Sudbury was not only the Archbishop of Canterbury, but also the Chancellor of England. In short, the clergy became a wealthy and powerful social class.



John Wycliffe *(/ˈwɪklɪf/; also spelled Wyclif, Wycliff, Wiclef, Wicliffe, Wickliffe; c. 1320 – December 1384*



William Wickham (Wykeham)
(1539 – 11 June 1595)

Wealth was not the only abuse that Wyclif was willing to point out against his superiors. Other abuses such as simony, the lack of celibacy, and inadequate preaching led to a growing sense of anti-clericalism. The rise of anti-clericalism also led to a decline in the confidence of the Church and their ability to lead the faithful. Thus, many people frustrated with the Church began to seek spiritual guidance elsewhere. Groups such as the *Brethren of the Free Spirit* of the fourteenth century and the *Brethren of the Common Life* of the fifteenth century sought to return to early days of Christianity in an attempt to emulate the simplistic lives of early followers.

It is in this light that Wyclif shines as a champion of reform within the Church. He knew that the internal structure of the Church needed reform. However, it was not until the latter part of his life that he began preaching for reform. While at the Oxford, Wyclif was not known as a theologian, but rather as a teacher and philosopher. By 1374 as Wyclif began making his mark in politics his philosophy was being noticed by the royal court.

In that same year, Wyclif served as a diplomat for King Edward III as negotiator against the papacy. In order to continue the war with France, Edward III collected papal taxes, and put them in his own pocket to finance the war. The papacy took offense to this action, and Wyclif was sent to Bruges to forcefully support the king's position. Once Wyclif returned to Oxford, he began moving against the organized church.

One of his first and more popular philosophical ideas was his doctrine of dominion, established sometime around 1376. Lollard historian James Gairdner explains Wyclif's position that no individual has "no real dominion, no real authority, and no real ownership of property without the grace of God. A man in mortal sin has no right to anything at all, but a man in a state of grace really possessed all things". Wyclif's view was that the abuses by the clergy were sins in the eyes of God. Therefore, the clergy could not have been in a state of grace. Wyclif found it acceptable for the king to strip the clergy of their temporal possessions.

Why does Wyclif believe it acceptable for the king to strip ecclesiastical authorities of its temporal possessions? Simply put, the king is the "highest authority of all earthly authorities and has a perfect right to take away the temporal endowments of the Church when he thought fit". The king's authority, as long as he is in a perfect state of grace, is greater than that of anyone in the Church, including the Pope.

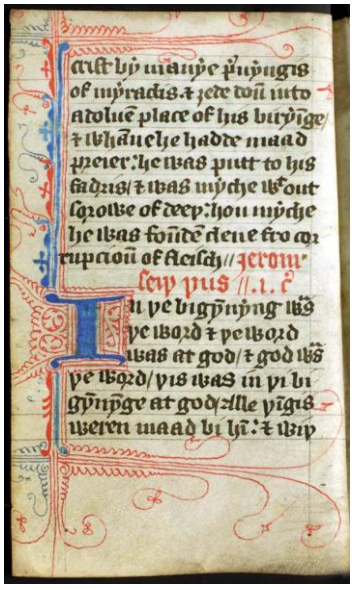


Abbé pratiquant la simonie
Abbot practising simony
(France, 12th century)

Being in a perfect state of grace is the key. However, no one really knows if they are in a state of grace except God. Chances are that anyone who is living according to the law of God, or the bible, is in a state of grace. Wyclif concludes that the bible is the only true source of authority, both spiritual and temporal. He believed the bible should be accessible to everyone in his or her own language with the liberty to interpret the Word of God for themselves. In defense of his call for an English translation Wyclif commented, “Englishmen learn Christ’s law best in English. Moses heard God’s law in his own tongue, so did Christ’s apostles”.

Wyclif's push for an English bible propelled the English language into a territory never seen before. Latin was considered God’s language and was the only language the Word of God should be heard in. Wyclif emphatically denounced this notion. As a scholar and instructor, Wyclif was known to have used English during his lectures; shying away from the traditional Latin approaches, while at the same time encouraging the use of English.

In Wyclif’s view, the bible should be a manual for everyone in society to live a dedicated Christian lifestyle. Monks and priests should use it to preach the Word of God instead of indulging in Church tithes. It is from scripture that Wyclif develops his doctrine of apostolic poverty. All members of the Church should be encouraged to live like the early apostles, focusing their attention on preaching the Word of God. Again, Wyclif's doctrine focuses on the integrity of the Church. The Pope claimed to be the successor to St. Peter, a poor preacher who sought to spread the good news of Christ. How could the Pope be the successor to St. Peter if he lived a life opposite of the great saint? The attaining of wealth by ecclesiastical authorities was a sin in the eyes of Wyclif.



Beginning of the Gospel of John from a 14th-century copy of Wycliffe's translation



John Wyclif translating the bible.

All of Wyclif's views had profound effects on both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. First, his ideas showed a deep passion to reform the Church and society. Translating the bible into the vernacular and having it accessible to laymen allows individuals to make their own interpretations of what is important to them. The emphasis on reading the Scripture led to the importance of education as well. Lay access to Scripture had to be taught in the most literal sense. In order to have special access to the Scriptures, one had to learn how to read. The idea of literacy was a revolutionary concept for the time since the majority of medieval people could not read or write.

Secondly, Wyclif proposed that all authority on religious matters be taken out of the hands of the Church, who failed to guide, teach, and live according to the bible, placing the responsibility for reform in the hands of secular authorities. Wyclif's attacks on the Church directly challenged centuries of ecclesiastical authority, both spiritual and secular. In a time of spiritual uncertainty, Wyclif's ideas became more lucrative to those with anticlerical sentiment. It was precisely these ideas that seemed to have attracted John of Gaunt to Wyclif.

The Duke of Lancaster becomes the Patron of Wycliffe

Gaunt was the third son of King Edward III. His inheritance to the duchy of Lancaster through marriage made Gaunt one of the most powerful men in late 14th century England. According to Norman Cantor, Gaunt had "at least three hundred lords and gentry" who were personally loyal to him. Therefore, it is no surprise that Gaunt was able to persuade Wyclif to work for him. Still, there are questions surrounding to the true nature of Wyclif's relationship to the great Duke. Was it simply political? Could there have been an intellectual interest in Wyclif's ideas? Historians have thoroughly examined this unique relationship in hopes of understanding its true nature.



John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster was the fourth son of Edward III, King of England,.

The explanation of the relationship between Gaunt and Wyclif has been fairly consistent amongst historians. Reginald Poole, a historian from the late 19th century, believes Gaunt used Wyclif to attack particular members of the clergy, such as his political rival William of Wickham, the Bishop of Winchester. Medieval historian John Fines agrees with Poole's assessment. He suggests Wyclif's service to the Duke of Lancaster was merely a propagandist campaign against Wickham and other wealthy priests. Fines goes as far as to suggest that Gaunt did not understand any of Wyclif's ideas: "Most probably Gaunt did not understand Wyclif's ideas, or their significance, and he certainly would not have supported his heresies; he merely knew Wyclif to be very strong in preaching down worldly priests..."

The loyalty shown by Gaunt in favor of Wyclif is quite impressive.

Take, for example, the events that took place at St. Paul's Cross in London on February 19, 1377. Wyclif had been summoned by Church authorities to answer for his hostile attacks against them. While Church authorities awaited his arrival, Gaunt and his faction escorted Wyclif towards the Church. As Wyclif arrived in front of his superiors, insults were exchanged between the Lancastrian faction and the bishops. At one point, Gaunt even told William Courtenay, the Bishop of London, that he would drag him out by his hair. When the London crown heard Gaunt insulting Courtenay, they busted their way into the building in order to protect their bishop. What at first was an inquisitorial session turned into a riot. Wyclif was never questioned and somehow escaped, most likely retreating back to Oxford. Wyclif was never brought before his superiors again, thanks to the support of Gaunt.



William Courtenay (1341/2–1396) tomb effigy

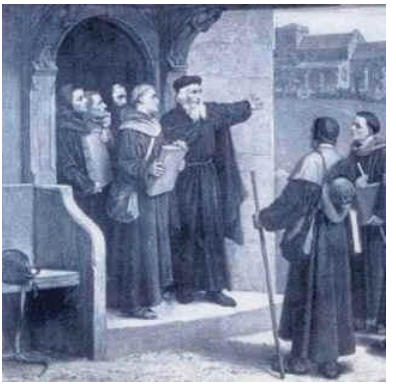
The general consensus is that Gaunt manipulated Wyclif for his own political advantages. Gaunt not only wanted to eliminate his political opponents, but he was also looking to gain the support of the people to continue to finance the war in France. The majority of his financial support had dwindled due to his failures in France during the Hundred Years' War. Despite these failure he continued to push for his high tax policies to be implemented in order to continue the fight.

Gaunt's ambition to strip the Church of its wealth to pay for a war against the French would seem to be the most reasonable explanation for the relationships with Wyclif. At a time in which the royal crown is desperate for money to finance the war with France and Edward III placing ecclesiastical money in his own pocket, Wyclif's doctrines favorably side with Gaunt's cause. The stripping of Church land would have certainly given the English crown the revenue to continue the war as well as appease those with anti-clerical sentiments. In addition, it would submit the Church to the power of the king; a struggle that had been raging for centuries. The historian consensus certainly would be correct in assuming Gaunt was only in league with Wyclif as a mean to defeat his political opponents.

The story of the relationship between Gaunt and Wycliffe does not end at a mere political explanation. In his latest book *The Last Knight*, Norman Cantor provides another theory for Gaunt's relationship to Wycliffe. Cantor believes Wycliffe may have had a significant impact on Gaunt's religious convictions than has previously been thought. It was mentioned earlier that people of the 14th century were beginning to lose confidence in the spiritual leadership of the Church. This lead to the rise of other religious groups whose focus centered on personal piety. Cantor believes Gaunt may have been one of the many individuals who had lost their faith in the Church's ability to provide spiritual guidance. He also suggests that Gaunt was affected by the destructiveness of the Black Death and was in need of spiritual guidance. Gaunt, in search of spiritual guidance, may have found Wyclif's preaching and intellect appealing. It is part of this spiritual quest that Cantor believes drew Gaunt to Wyclif.

Historian Anne Hudson adds to the idea that Gaunt protected those with Lollard ideas. Hudson illustrates how Gaunt eagerly protected the Lollards. She provides evidence of how Gaunt intervened on Wyclif's behalf when Church authorities were condemning Wyclif's doctrine on the Eucharist. Again, Gaunt steps in to protect the interest of Wycliffe by personally coming to Oxford in 1383, a year after Wyclif's ideas were condemned at the Blackfriars' Council. If Gaunt wanted to put distance between himself and Wyclif, why would he have stepped in to help; especially given the nature of Wyclif's attack on the Eucharist? The research done by Cantor and Hudson seems to contradict medieval historians, such as Fines, who believed Gaunt "did not understand Wycliffe's views or he would not have protected Wyclif. In this case, Hudson's research provides credibility to Cantor. It is quite possible that Gaunt may have voluntarily supported Wyclif, not due to political reasoning, but due to his own religious convictions.

Whatever Gaunt's reasoning in extending his patronage to Wyclif, it is clear that the Oxford theologian's radicalism was becoming a major concern to the Duke of Lancaster. Wyclif's attack on the Eucharist brought him to the brink of heresy. Gaunt must have known the ramifications of Wyclif's ideology, so he began backing away from Wyclif. Gaunt had become as powerful as the king. His association with a heretical preacher like Wyclif could ruin the momentum he had built over the past decade. The path Wyclif took towards reform made it inevitable that Gaunt would put some distance between him and the high profiled theologian. Still, in spite of the danger that surrounded Wyclif, Gaunt did not completely remove his protection. Gaunt's influence enabled Wyclif to live out his days as the rector of Lutterworth without Church authorities ever becoming a serious threat. Even after Wyclif's death, Gaunt protected many key members associated with the Oxford don. The birth of the Lollard movement would be set squarely on the shoulders of the men who were protected by the great Duke of Lancaster.



Wyclif speaking to Lollard preachers

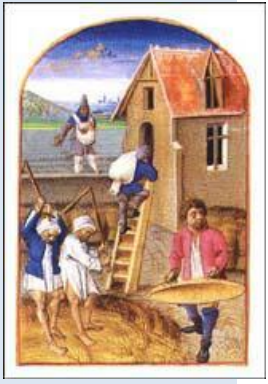
John of Gaunt as Protector of the Lollard Movement?

While Gaunt's protection of Wycliffe still puzzles many, two major chroniclers of the late 14th century credit John of Gaunt for the protection of key members of the Lollard movement. Adam of Usk and Henry Knighton, provide an interesting look into the actions of the Duke of Lancaster.

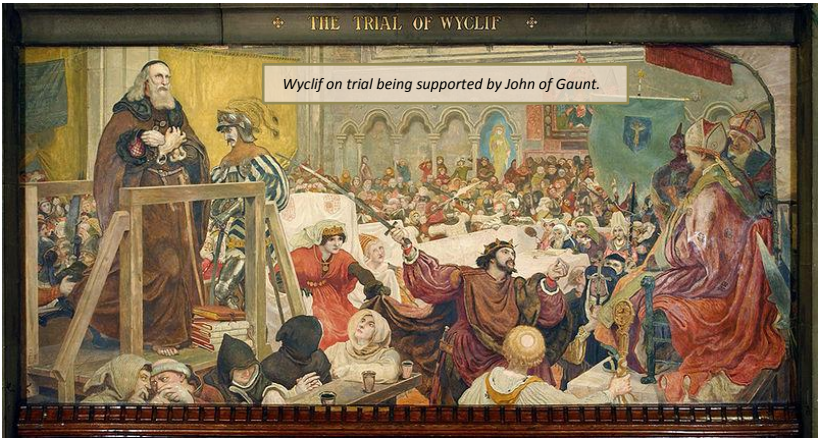
Henry Knighton was a canon of St. Mary's Abbey in Leicester, and likely writing his chronicle whilst there. One of the most important aspects of this work is that he provides substantial documentation on the rise of the Lollard movement. In fact, from the evidence provided by Knighton, Gaunt can be seen as the protector of the early development of Lollard movement. Knighton directly documents how Gaunt protected Wycliffe and those who were sympathetic to the early movement:

"For the Master John Wycliffe was cited and summoned by mandate of the lord pope to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other doctors of the church, in the church of friars preachers in London, to answer for the wickedness of heresy, where he had the notable support of the good duke of Lancaster, who was an invincible guardian to him and his followers in all their needs, for otherwise they would have fallen into the pit of destruction."

This particular passage dates to 1382 and may be talking about the infamous Blackfriars Council that condemned the teachings of Wyclif, forcing his Oxford followers to preach in secrecy. What is interesting to note is that Gaunt is not only protecting Wycliffe, but protecting those who follow him. It was presented earlier that Gaunt withdrew his protection sometime during the early part of the 1380's. If this indeed were true, why would Gaunt, even with the Pope breathing down Wyclif's neck, still seek to protect Wyclif? Also, if Wyclif were all he needed to combat his political enemies, why would he be willing to protect "his followers"? Whatever the case, after the Blackfriars Council of 1382, many of Wyclif's followers were forced to preach in the countryside.



Henry Knighton was the canon of St Mary's Abbey, Leicester. His chronicles start in the 10th century and end in 1395. Knighton was very interested in economic history, and his chronicles provide detailed information on prices, wages and taxation. He was somewhat hostile to the Lollards and those involved in the Peasants' Revolt. Knighton died in 1396.



Wyclif on trial being supported by John of Gaunt.

It is when Wyclif preachers began to secretly preach in the countryside that the Lollard movement officially began. Between the years of 1382 and 1399, a high concentration of Lollard preachers could be found throughout England, particularly within areas controlled by John of Gaunt. In the city of Leciester, Lollard ideology flourished. One of the first preachers of Lollardy, William Swinderby, became Gaunt's patron and enjoyed his protection. A former orthodox preacher, Swinderby became a teacher of Wycliffite doctrine as well as a teacher of the bible. It is likely that Swinderby studied under the tutelage of Philip Repington, one of the followers of Wycliffe, who preached in the area during the early 1380's. At Easter in 1382, Swinderby gathered popular support to defy bishop's orders against preaching. He was able to get twelve leading citizens of the town as well as the mayor to put their seals on a letter of protest in support of his cause. On several occasions, Swinderby was under pressure to recant by local and regional religious authorities only to be rescued by Gaunt. Knighton provides a clear example of Gaunt's willingness to protect Swinderby while at Lincoln late in 1382:

"In the mean time the lord bishop of Lincoln cited him to appear in the cathedral church of Lincoln…at last, however, he was publicly convicted of various heresies and errors, and adjudged fuel for the flames…as it happened, however, the good duke of Lancaster, who was always ready to help the Lollards, was in Lincoln the same day. He believed them (the Lollards) to be God's saints, because of their bland words and expressions, though he was deceived by them, as were many others. He intervened with the bishop on William's behalf, seeking to have his punishment commuted to some others."

Even after this ordeal, Swinderby continued to preach in the area of Leicester as well as in Coventry and Herefordshire. As the political and religious situation in England continued to add pressure to Lollard preachers, Swinderby had no choice but to abandon his missions in the English countryside. His preaching days ended in 1392 when he and a companion disappeared into Wales. Ecclesiastical authorities were never able to successfully stop Swinderby from preaching due in large part to Gaunt's protection.



Page from a Wycliffe Bible,
illuminated manuscript, c. 1400

The Early Lollard Movement: A Growing Threat?

The question of whether John of Gaunt was directly or indirectly responsible for the creation of the Lollard movement is a matter of debate. One thing is for certain, Gaunt's protection of Wyclif during the early 1380's allowed for the development of the Lollard movement and it certainly allowed for its growth. Between 1382 and 1399, the Lollard movement flourished with ideas of literacy, the translation of the bible into the vernacular, and personal piety under the protection of key individuals in high places. Lollardy was seen in the English countrysides, in the cities, and even among the royal court. This next section will look at the key ideas of the movement.

One of the key areas of Lollard interest was the importance of literacy. Throughout the medieval period, literacy was non-existent among the common people. Reading and writing were meant for those wanting to enter the Church. The majority of people throughout the medieval period received their information through oral communication. However, the early Lollards "devoted much attention to attacking the boundary" between the use of Latin and English. Pamphlets, quires, and books were written in English to aid the ordinary person in learning how to read with the goal of being able to read the Holy Bible in mind.. Lollard tracts were often pinned to informational boards in order for those who could read to inform those who could not. In 1382, John Aston's views on the Eucharist was spread throughout London in both English and Latin. Also during that year, Philip Repingdon and Nicholas Hereford nailed Lollard views to the doors of St. Mary's and St. Paul's in London. Ten years later, in 1395, a group of Lollards posted their Twelve Conclusions on the doors of Westminister Hall and St. Paul's. The purpose behind these actions was to make their beliefs known to the public. Anne Hudson goes a step further to say that the "the success of all gestures was postulated on the assumption of the literacy". The purpose of the Lollard movement was not just to educate others about being Christian, it also meant educating everyone in the importance of reading and writing.



View of Westminster Bridge including Westminster Hall & the Abbey.

The Lollard stress on literacy came from a group of men who had been exposed to Wyclif at Oxford University. John Purvey, Nicholas Hereford, John Aston, and Philip Repingdon are four of the bigger named individuals who had academic backgrounds. They were also known as one of Wyclif's first poor preachers. It was part of their preaching method to teach literacy; not metaphorically, but literally. Research done by Rita Copeland on Lollard preaching and teaching methods, hone in on Wyclif's concept that one should have a literal interpretation of the bible. As Copeland states, " Wycliffite heremeneutics would claim, on the authority of Wyclif and Wyclif's academic predecessors, that the literal sense is all that is necessary for any readers, provided that the reader's means of access to the literal sense is properly anchored". In this perspective, literacy not only becomes a skill, but an essential skill in understanding how one should live their life.

The literal sense of reading is what scared the medieval Church. Churchmen feared that laymen would not understand what is written, and then come to their own conclusions. As Margaret Aston points out, "It was not only a question of what people could not understand, but also of what they should not. Some things were inappropriate for the laymen's language, for lay tongues and ears." The whole purpose of the priesthood was to help interpret and mediate between God and the layman.

This was the case in the debate over biblical translations. Translations of the bible were not uncommon throughout the medieval period. Translations were allowed as long as they had approval by the Church. This was the case for one very important reason, translation in the vernacular provided instant access to the Word of God allowing the reader to draw their own conclusions on how a good, moral Christian life should be lived. Many important individuals throughout the latter 14th century had known translations; some of them without permission. John of Gaunt's youngest brother, Thomas of Woodstock, owned a two volume Wycliffite Bible. The son of Henry IV, Thomas of Lancaster, is known to have owned a copy of the Wycliffite version of the Old Testament. Henry VI, Gaunt's grandson, also owned an English bible. Translation of the bible into a language the laymen could understand would eliminate the purpose of the priesthood as well as the Church's authority over the minds and souls of the common man; this was the very purpose of Wycliffe's ideology, make the connection between God and man personal.

This new personal connection with God became part of a growing practice known as individual piety. Individual spirituality was an idea that was on the rise throughout the late medieval period. It was mentioned earlier that Norman Cantor believed that John of Gaunt's appeal to Wycliffe was due to the concept of personal piety. Life had been extremely difficult for those in 14th century England that many individuals felt that the Church had either lost its way with God, or was too corrupt be in the likeness of God. Groups such as *The Brethren of the Common Life* focused their energies on devoting their lives to Christ. The rise of anti-clericalism along with the difficulty of the times made personal devotion to Christ an attractive endeavor. It meant that any individual who learned to read could have a significant amount of freedom to control their own Christian destinies.

Despite the Church's denouncement of Lollard ideas, the movement's literary programs made a significant impact in the most important places in late medieval English society. No one man made more of a significant impact on the literary culture of the late 14th century than Geoffrey Chaucer. It is of some coincidence that Chaucer's allegiances align with that of John of Gaunt. Meeting sometime around 1357, Gaunt and Chaucer became good friends. According to Cantor, Gaunt was attracted to Chaucer's ability to "write on courtly themes" in English as well as adapting the new ideas that would eventually become the early stages of the Italian renaissance.



Thomas of Woodstock

"It was not only a question of what people could not understand, but also of what they should not. Some things were inappropriate for the laymen's language, for lay tongues and ears."



GEERT *de* GROOTE
(1340-c.1384)
Founder of the
Brethren of the Common Life



Geoffery Chaucer - On October 25, 1400, the first great poet in the English language, died at his home in London. His date of birth is unknown, though it is probably around 1340-1343.



It is no surprise that Chaucer became Gaunt's patron sometime after their meeting. Many of Chaucer's literary works resemble many ideas attributed to Lollardy. In the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer gives a wonderful description of the life and times of 14th century pilgrims on their way to see the shrine of Thomas Becket. Throughout the tale, Chaucer's pilgrims present all of the abuses of the Church through the description of his characters. He too believed the Church had become too wealthy and corrupt. Here is his description of the friar:

"There was a Friar, who was wanton and merry. He was licensed to beg in a limited area-a dignified man...He had married off many a young woman at his own expense. He was a noble pillar of his order...He was an easy man in giving penance where he knew he would gain a good pittance; for to give to the poor order is a sign that a man is well shriven, for to give to a poor order is a sign that a man was repentant...Therefore, instead of weeping and praying, men can give silver to the poor friars."

Again, the abuses of the Church were well known throughout the medieval world, so Chaucer's views are not unorthodox. Nonetheless, connections can be made between Chaucer and the Lollards. At the court of Richard II, a group of knights not only offered patronage to Lollard preachers, but became involved in the literary movement as well. Chaucer had a special friendship with these Lollard knights, many of whom were at one point in the service of John of Gaunt. Together they formed "Chaucer's circle", a group of men with similar literary and intellectual interests. It is documented that Chaucer aided Sir John Clanvowe in his religious treatise entitled *The Two Ways*, a work grappling with the question of free will and moral responsibility, ideas put forth by Wyclif years earlier.

Another major area in which Lollard ideas are seen in the works of Chaucer is his description of the parson in his *Canterbury Tales*. The parson's characteristics are eerily similar to that of Wyclif:

"There was a good man of religion who was a poor parson of a town; but he was rich in holy thoughts and works. He was also a learned man, a clerk who would truly preach Christ's gospel; he would teach his parishioners devoutly...He gave noble examples to his sheep: that he practiced first and preached afterwards. He took his motto from the Gospel"

Whether Chaucer's parson is Wyclif is a matter of speculation. However, the fact that the character closely resembles Wyclif simply cannot be ignored. Does this indicate that Chaucer was a Lollard or had Lollard sympathies? It is difficult to tell. With Wyclif and Chaucer under the service of Gaunt throughout the later part of the 14th century, there is a good chance that Chaucer could have been influenced by Wyclif, or by any other figure associated with the Lollard movement.

Finally, historians believe that the stories surrounding the famous Robin Hood were written at about this time. Two names appear quite frequently in recent historical study of the Robin Hood ballads. Of course, Gaunt's name comes up as a possible author, but the more likely candidate is John Montague. Montague was one of Gaunt's closest friends as well as an Important member of "Chaucer's circle". He was also an intricate part of the Lollard knights at the court of Richard II. Knighton describes how knights such as Montague had enormous power and "that they were the strongest promoters and most powerful protectors of the sect". If this were true, it makes sense that the theme of the Robin Hood ballads was to steal from the rich and give to poor. A majority of the Robin Hood ballads were, in fact, attacking the abuses of the Church. In particular, the wealth of the bishops and monks throughout England as told by the earliest ballad *A Gest of Robyn Hode*:

"These bishshoppes and these archebisoppes,
Ye shall them bete and bynde;
The hye sherif of Notyingham,
Hym holde ye in your mynde."

Of course, Robin Hood and his band are not just fighting corruption in the Church, but those individuals who are associated with corruption in general. However, throughout the *Gest*, Robin Hood and his men are constantly battling bishops and monks. The fact that Robin Hood was known as the champion of the poor who would steal from members of the Church, does make good reading for a group of people in need of a laugh.

From Wyclif to Chaucer to the author of the Robin Hood ballads, the literary movement during the latter part of the 14th century became an important part of the Lollard movement. The emphasis on literacy encouraged many individuals to learn how to read. The ability to read provided the individual with knowledge of the world around them. The Lollards used literacy to promote self piety through the ability to read the Bible in the vernacular. The contributions of the early Lollard movement set the stage for the Reformation movements of the 16th century. Their contributions also put them on the Church's radar as a genuine threat to their power in English society.

The Lollard Movement as a threat to the English Church

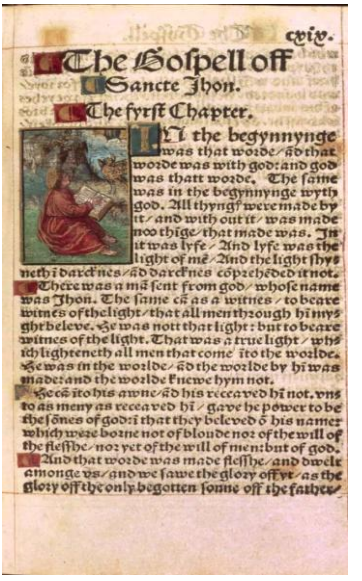
As it has been shown, the impact of the Lollard movement upon English society was significant. Anti-clerical sentiment was already extremely high throughout English society. The ideas of the Lollard movement became the antidote to the anti-clerical feelings plaguing a very religious society. To make matters worse, the work of Wyclif sought to strip the Church of its wealth. The support of John of Gaunt and other important political leaders to Wyclif's ideas sought to curb Church power as well. To put it bluntly, the Church was backed into a corner with very little chance of getting out.



Woodcut of John Wyclif

In response to the Lollard threat, churchmen went to English law for answers. The most popular answer to the threat of heresy was the *de excommunicato capiendo*. It was a writ that imprisoned individuals who had been excommunicated by the Church. The individual was not necessarily imprisoned by authorities because of heresy, but more due to their stubbornness to recant. The term of imprisonment depended on whether or not the individual charged would submit to the Church. It was a law that was not used frequently and it made little difference in combating the Lollards. Outside of the *capiendo*, there was no specific secular procedure that dealt with heresy.

To tackle the growing concern of heresy, Church leaders met with King Richard II in 1382 to garner more support from secular authorities. The king's response, at least from the Church's point of view, was not a serious one. The new procedure gave greater flexibility to bishops in demanding the assistance of sheriffs or royal authorities in cases of heresy. Unlicensed preachers became the target of this new authority. However, the House of Commons repealed several of the new procedures. The Commons stated that "it was never assented to or granted by the Commons, but whatever was said about it has been without consent". Despite the power struggle between Parliament and Richard, the king won out. By 1388, the law included the confiscation of property.



cxiv.

The Gospell off Sancte Jhon.

The fyrst Chapter.

In the begynnynge was that worde/ & that worde was with god: and god was that worde. The same was in the begynnynge wyth god. All thynge were made by it/ and with out it/ was made noo thige/ that made was. In it was lyfe/ And lyfe was the light of me/ And the light shyneth i darcknes/ & darcknes cõprehended it not. There was a mã sent from god/ whose name was Jhon. The same cã as a witnes/ to beare witnes of the light/ that all men thrugh hi myght believe. He was nott that light: but to beare witnes of the light. That was a true light/ wyche lightneth all men that come into the worlde. He was in the worlde/ & the worlde by hi was made: and the worlde knewe hym not. Heed: to his owne/ & his receaved hi not. Bvt as many as receaved hi/ gave he power to be the sõnes of god: i that they beleved ō his name: which were borne not of blonde nor of the will of the flesshe/ nor yet of the will of men: but of god. And that worde was made flesshe/ and dwelt amonge vs/ and we sawe the glory off yt/ as the glory off the only begotten sonne off the father/

Richard's response to the Lollards early in his reign certainly did not please English religious leaders. In fact, one could argue that Richard allowed for such heretical ideas to flourish due to his upbringing. Richard II biographer Nigel Saul provides an interesting assessment on why it is perceived that Richard was lenient towards the Lollards. Richard's father, the Black Prince, had extremely anti-clerical views similar to John of Gaunt. Saul also points out that the wife of the Black Prince sent a letter to the bishops of England to stop the proceedings against John Wyclif.

It is in this environment that Richard was raised. It is may be of no coincidence that Richard had knights in his own court that had Lollard beliefs. Saul points out that none of the Lollard knights retained by Richard II were disciplined for their beliefs. As it was shown above, the majority of the knights' literary writings flourished under Richard's watch. It was not until 1388, when the Lord Appellants issued the confiscation of all Wycliffite writings for examination, that the Lollards were seen as a potential threat to the crown. Those with Wycliffite writings were subject to immediate arrest.

The role of the Appellants taking a stronger stance says a lot about what they thought about Richard's policy toward the Lollards. It was clear to the Appellants that there was not enough done to help the Church combat the Lollards. It is no surprise that Richard's stance on the Lollards became much more rigid after 1388. Richard may have been brought back to the orthodox fold, but he never did implement the death penalty for heresy. It would be a move that would push Church leaders firmly into the camp of Henry of Bolingbroke.





Edward, Prince of Wales as Knight of the Order of the Garter, 1453, illustration from the Bruges Garter Book

John of Gaunt and Lancastrian ambition for the English Throne



Henry IV (reigned 1399–1413). He was born at Bolingbroke Castle, hence his other name, Henry of Bolingbroke. His father, John of Gaunt, was the third son of Edward III, and enjoyed a position of considerable influence during much of the reign of Henry's cousin Richard II, whom Henry eventually deposed. Henry's mother was Blanche, heiress to the considerable Lancaster estates, thus he became the first King of England from the Lancaster branch of the Plantagenets.

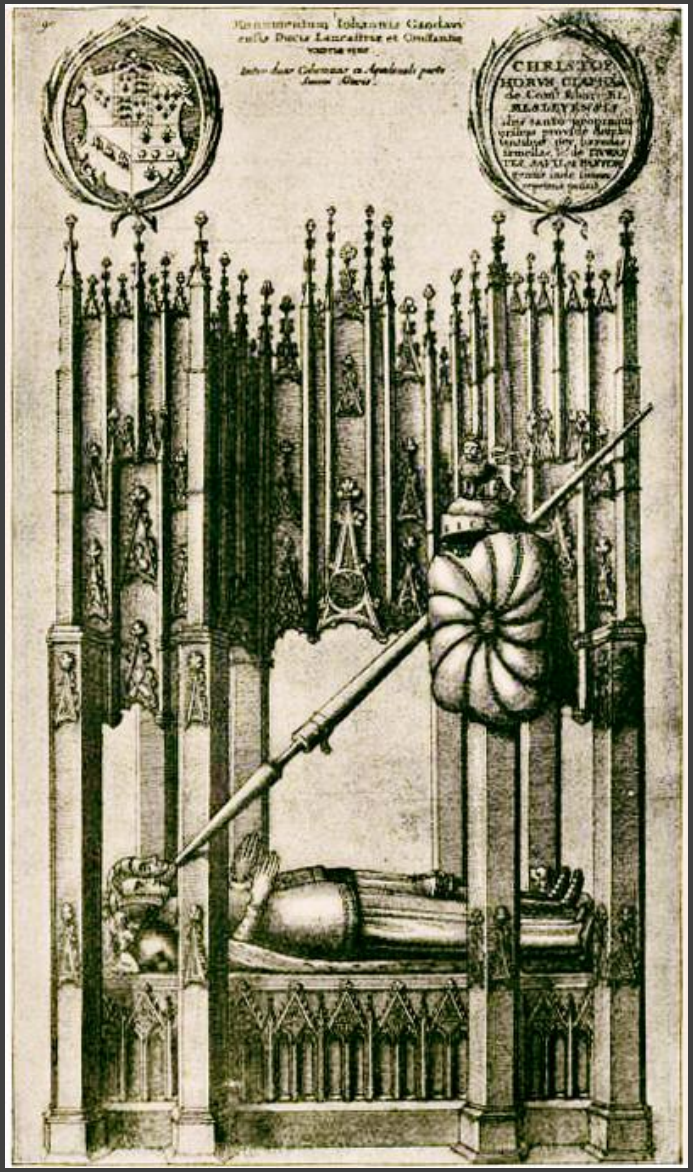
Lancaster became the most powerful individual in all of England. He not only became King Richard II's most trusted advisor, but many historians believe he had more power than his nephew. Richard thought so highly of Gaunt that he bestowed him with "the power of both houses of parliament". Historians have long debated whether Gaunt had ideas of securing the English throne for his family. Cantor and McFarlane both agree that Gaunt may have had ambitions to the throne, but remained a loyal servant to King Richard II.

While some historians believe that Gaunt was loyal to his king, his actions say otherwise. In Paul Strohm's book *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimization, 1399-1422*, he suggests that Gaunt went out of his way to put his own son in line for the throne. Strohm suggests that Gaunt was disappointed that his son was not chosen as heir, and decided to concoct a story to reconfigure dynastic origins, staking their claim to the throne. To enhance their claims, both Gaunt and his son Henry of Bolingbroke claimed that the house of Lancaster was founded by Edmund Crouchback, the younger brother of King Edward I. Strohm uses the chronicle of John Hardyng, a man situated within the house of Percy and allied with the Lancastrians prior to the usurpation, to make his claim. Hardyng writes:

"when the duke of lancastre wase so putt bie, he and his counsell feyned and forgied the seide Cronycle that Edmonde shuld be the elder brother, to make his sone Henry a title to the croune..."

Strohm also provides another account that adds credibility to Hardyng's account. The source is the *Eulogium* continuator, which describes Gaunt adding a new twist to the fabricated story,

"He said that King Henry III had two sons, Edmund, the firstborn and, then, Edward. The reason why Edmund did not assume the throne was due to a crooked back. This handicap deemed Edmund unworthy for the crown and their father arranged so that Edward should reign, and after him the heirs of Edmund, and made Edmund the duke of Lancaster..."



MONUMENT
OF
JOHN, DUKE OF
LANCASTER,
AND OF HIS WIFE
CONSTANCE,
IN OLD ST.
PAUL'S.
DUGDALE.

Finally, there is a third chronicler of the period who supports the thought that the Lancastrians had ambitions for the English crown. Adam of Usk was the Lancastrian chronicler of the late 14th century. Usk was also part of a committee that discussed the deposing of Richard II in favor of Henry of Bolingbroke. In their deliberations, Usk describes how many of the members of the committee already knew of the story, and were willing to use it in favor of Henry of Bolingbroke:

"One day, in a council held by the above-mentioned doctors, it was suggested by some people, who claimed that Edmund earl of Lincoln was really the first-born son of King Henry the third, but that he had been denied his birthright because of his imbecility and thus replaced by his younger brother Edward".



Usk Castle

As much as the committee debated the evidence, Usk does not shy away from the truth. He provides enough written evidence to the committee that it should have destroyed Bolingbroke's argument to be king:

"King Henry granted Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Surrey to his first-born son Edward, AD 1253…On 15 May, at the battle of Lewes, the barons captured King Henry and his first-born son Edward, AD 1264… Also: Edward the first-born son of King Henry visited the Holy Land with his wife AD1271 (Polychronicon)."



King Henry III

Three chroniclers put forth the same story with one of them being a clear Lancastrian supporter (Usk). The evidence presented does suggest that John of Gaunt not only had ambition to place his family in line for the throne, he manufactured stories to aid in his cause. It is also clear that Henry Bolingbroke, the future King Henry IV, never lost sight of his father's ambition. His attempt to reuse the story during the revolution of 1399 suggests that he was just as ambitious as his father had been nearly 20 years earlier.

Late 14th Century English Politics: A Climate of Chaos

It is clear from multiple chronicles that the Lancastrian faction sought the English crown. The "Crouchback" story was refuted by chroniclers and even lawyers of the time. If the story has been refuted, then how does Henry of Bolingbroke become Henry IV? The constant social, political, and religious turmoil England endured allowed for the nobility to dictate the policies of England. King Richard II was a monarch who believed in absolute power. Richard tried desperately to curtail this rise of noble power and, by the late 1380's, there were clear differences between the nobility and King Richard. What ensued was a power struggle between the king and the major nobles in England.

The Lords Appellant were a group of nobles who adamantly opposed royal policy. Led by Richard II's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke, the Appellants brought forth charges upon many of Richard's "favorites" for not only abusing power, but poisoning the mind of the king. The Appellants moved quickly against Richard's advisors late in the 1380's, many of them convicted and executed for treason at the "Merciless Parliment" of 1387. It was also at this parliament that Richard was forced to submit to the Duke of Gloucester's council. The English government was now in the hands of Gloucester and the rest of the Appellants. It would be an embarrassment that Richard would never get over.

Bolingbroke's role in this chaos must be highlighted. According to McFarlane the Lancastrians and Ricardians rarely got along, starting with Richard's interference in government as early as 1383. There were several occasions in which Richard refused Gaunt's overtures to invasions of Scotland and France. Richard's denial of both requests left the Lancastrian faction frustrated. Gaunt would eventually seek the crown of Castile in Spain, leaving England for about three years. In McFarlane's view, the absence of Gaunt allowed for a group of nobles more devoted to curtailing the royal prerogative. He points out that the Gaunt's personal and political motivations may have led him to conflict with the king, but he never directly challenged his authority. Bolingbroke and the rest of the Appellants not only challenged his right to govern, but threatened to strip him of the crown. According to the Whalley Abbey chronicler, the Appellants had decided to depose Richard before their battle with royal forces at Radcot Bridge in 1387. When the Duke of Gloucester was chosen to replace Richard on the throne, Bolingbroke immediately referred to the House of Lancaster as the rightful line to the crown. Instead of creating a much larger issue between the Appellants, it was decided that Richard should remain king.



Edmund Crouchback

About ten years after the events of the Lords Appellant (roughly 1397-1398) Richard began making his move to right the wrongs of the Merciless Parliament of 1388. He declared that all members of the Lords Appellant had committed treason during their purge of Richard's advisers. Richard moved quickly against many of those who opposed him ten years earlier. He had the Duke of Gloucester murdered and banished both the Duke of Norfolk and Bolingbroke from England. Norfolk was banished for life while Bolingbroke was only banished for a short time. The death of John of Gaunt in 1399 extended Bolingbroke's banishment to life with Richard seizing control of all Lancastrian possessions. Richard's revenge on the Lords Appellants was complete.

The Purpose of the Revolution of 1399

It was in this climate of chaos that brought about the Revolution of 1399. The new Duke of Lancaster would return to England to take back the lands given to him by right of heredity; or at least that is what Lancastrian chroniclers would want their subjects to believe. In a recently released book entitled *Who Murdered Chaucer,* author Terry Jones believes that the Lancastrians lied their way to the throne. Jones asserts that historians have followed the recorded history of the Lancastrian chroniclers, which he asserts, was part of a Lancastrian propaganda machine to legitimize Henry IV's taking of the English crown. When taking a further look into the chronicles of the time period, Jones asserts that Bolingbroke's intention was not to just reclaim his land, but to gain the crown. Jones' assertion fits neatly with the theory of this work as it has been shown that the Lancastrians had always had an eye on the throne during the reign of King Richard II. Jones is also supported by Paul Strhom, who asserts that many of the chronicles during the early reign of Henry IV had been altered in a massive propaganda campaign to legitimize their right to the crown. When one takes each piece of this puzzle and puts it together, a pretty compelling case can be made that Bolingbroke came out of exile to overthrow Richard and make himself king.



While Bolingbroke may have reaped the benefits of Richard's demise, he may have not been the mastermind behind the revolution. Thomas Arundel, the former chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, was also forced into exile and had an axe to grind with Richard. Arundel had a reputation as the "most eminent bulwark of the English church and invincible champion". He is also well known as the main religious leader opposed to the growth of Lollardy. Starting early in his career as chancellor to Richard II, Arundel was on the side of the Lord Appellants when they instituted the new procedures at the Merciless Parliament. He also would have been the one to receive submissions and recantations all the while imposing penances on those who returned to orthodoxy.



Archbishop Arundel preaches or addresses the faithful during the revolution of 1399

Arundel's experience as chancellor may have opened his eyes to how serious the Lollard threat was to the English church. When he became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1397 he immediately called for a tougher stance in the battle against the Lollards. Arundel heavily supported the death penalty as well as the forfeiture of any possessions of those who were convicted of heresy. His most important interaction with heresy prior to the revolution occurred at the University of Oxford in 1397. It was reported by scholars and doctors that certain individuals within the university were teaching Wycliffite ideas.

Arundel sought to visit Oxford at once, but the university protested. Under the previous Archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, Oxford received a papal bull allowing them academic freedom without the interference from the English Church. Arundel overruled the papal bull and inquired to make a visitation as soon as possible. After several months of "dissensions, quarrels, and debates", it was determined by King Richard that the "right of visitation belong to the archbishop and his successors at Canterbury".

Arundel would never get the opportunity to go to Oxford in 1397. The archbishop would be sent into exile for his role with the Lords Appellant in 1388. In July of either 1396 or 1397, the five appellants met together for the first time since 1388. According to Aston, there is little doubt that "its purpose was flagrantly treasonable". It was determined that the king's advisers would be put to death while the king, the Duke of York, and John of Gaunt were to be exiled from the realm with all determinations endorsed by Arundel.

It is likely that the king heard of the meeting and decided to put his own plan into action. He convinced the archbishop that if the Duke of Gloucester would turn himself in that no harm would come of him. Arundel was certainly conflicted as the Duke of Gloucester was his brother. He did have a royal pardon coming directly from the mouth of the king. Little did he know, the pardon was part of Richard's plan. Thomas was able to convince Gloucester to present himself to the king. Richard immediately took advantage of the situation and had Gloucester arrested. He was then taken to Calais were Richard had him murdered. The responsibility of turning in his own brother must have been a difficult event to live with. Richard would deal with the archbishop as well by sending him into exile, disgraced and heartbroken over what had just occurred.



In this illuminated initial 'B' Archbishop Thomas Arundelis surrounded by monks of the cathedral priory at Canterbury or members of his archiepiscopal household.

The exile of Bolingbroke in 1399 for his role as one of the Lords Appellant provided the opportunity Arundel needed to strike back at Richard. The relationship between Arundel and Bolingbroke dates back to the days of the power struggle between Richard II and the Lords Appellant. However, neither man really liked the other. Since 1394, the Lancastrians and Arundels fought one another over parliamentary issues. Still, both men came together for a common cause while an exile. When news reached both men that the people of England were desperate to curtail Richard's tyrannical ways, Arundel and Bolingbroke sprang into action. Along with the Earl of Northumberland, Arundel negotiated with Richard to get him to meet with Bolingbroke.

It is at this point where Jones feels the Lancastrian chroniclers "rewrite" the historical record. Using Jean Creton, another chronicler at the time, Jones asserts that Arundel told Bolingbroke that he should lie to get the king to come out of his castle. According to Jones' research, Arundel advised Henry to pretend that he had come to "avenge the murder of the Earl of Arundel and his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester and he wanted Parliament to punish their murders". Nevertheless, it was decided to bring Richard out by convincing him that Bolingbroke "wanted nothing more, but his land, and whatever belongs to him".

Richard, believing Bolingbroke was not going to take the crown away from him, decided to meet him at the town of Flint. It was at that point that Richard became Bolingbroke's prisoner. Richard was now in Bolingbroke's custody. The future king proceeded then made his claim to the throne. Bolingbroke forced Richard to abdicate and taking the crown, becoming King Henry IV. The Lancastrian usurpation was now complete. Henry IV's biggest supporter and negotiator, Thomas Arundel, was immediately reinstated as Archbishop of Canterbury as well as the Chancellor of England. A fitting end to what was an illegal usurpation of the crown.

Henry IV may have realized the dream of his father by becoming the King of England, but he still had the problem of legitimization. His usurpation was illegal and he needed the persona of a hero or champion if he wanted to be taken as the King of England. It was mentioned earlier how the Lancastrians claimed their right to the throne through the Edmund Crouchback back story. It was also determined to be a falsified claim. Henry must have known that the his relationship with Thomas Arundel would have provided the legitimacy that he was seeking.

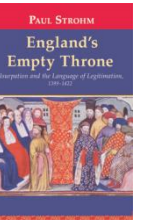
Henry did not just need Arundel, but Arundel also need Henry. It has been mentioned throughout that the Church saw the Lollards as a real threat to the English Church. It has also been noted that Richard seemingly did not do enough in the eyes of Church leaders to stop the growth of the Lollard movement. Bolingbroke was seen as a popular figure in England, a man of character that the people of the realm could support. It can be asserted that the Lollard threat became Arundel's main motivation for getting Bolingbroke onto the throne. Arundel was willing to support Henry as long as he provided the secular might against the Lollards. This newly found relationship between the Church and State provided each entity with the help it needed; the Church getting the aid needed to stop the Lollards and Henry IV would become the King of England by the grace of God.



ARCHBISHOP ARUNDEL
FROM AN OLD PORTRAIT IN LAMBETH PALACE.

Analysis of the Lollard Movement as a threat to the English Crown

From what has been examined, the Lollard movement was a social and religious movement that focused heavily on the teachings of Scripture and personal piety. While this movement certainly caused issues for the Church in England, there is no direct evidence that the movement itself was threatening to the crown. In *England's Empty Throne*, Paul Strohm provides analysis on why the Lancastrians believed the Lollards to be a threat to England. His belief is that the early Lancastrian kings, in search of legitimacy, exaggerated many different social, religious, and political events of their reign. These exaggerations were met with outlandish symbolic remedies to offset the Lancastrian usurpation. In Strohm's view, the Lollards were a part of this exaggeration as he concludes that they were of no real threat to the Lancastrians.



There is plenty of evidence to support Strohm's theory. The actions of the early Lancastrian kings provides us with useful insight into this symbolic search for legitimacy. It is of no surprise that Henry reinstated Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury once he was made king. The man who aided in the usurpation was now hard at work for the new king combating heresy. His first real act was the passing of the *De Haeretico Comburendo* statute in 1401. The statute made burning heretics legal in hopes that it "should strike fear into the minds of others". The 1401 statute was exactly what Arundel and other church leaders had called for during the reign of Richard II. Now that the English Church had the secular arm behind them, it would be only a matter of time in which hundreds of Lollards would be burnt at the stake.



The burning of William Sawtry

This just was not the case. In fact, there are only two documented cases in which the 1401 statute was used; once during the 1401 parliament in the trial and execution of William Sawtry and in 1410 with the execution of John Badby. The Badby case is very interesting because it demonstrates the Lancastrian use of symbolism as protectors of the Christian Church. Badby was convicted of heresy for his open opposition to the Church's teaching on the Eucharist. On March 5, 1410 at Smithfield, Badby arrived awaiting execution when Bolingbroke's son, the future Henry V, "offered him his pardon" if he would recant his views. Badby refused and the fire was lit. Hearing Badby screaming in tremendous pain, the Prince "caused the fire to be plucked back" and offered him his life in addition to three pence a day. Again, Badby refused and the fire consumed him.



John Badby burned in a barrel. Detail from Fox's book of Martyrs

Christopher Allmand, a Henry V historian and biographer, explains Henry's presence at the Badby execution as the Prince's way of supporting the ecclesiastical authorities in their attempt to root out heresy. The Prince's pardons may have been an attempt to save his life. When Badby refused, Henry had no choice but to go along with the execution. To save him without recanting would have put the state at odds with the Church; the very entity that had supported the Lancastrian usurpation.

Another example of Strohm's theory comes during the reign of King Henry V. During his youth, Henry had a reputation for being wild and rambunctious. Possibly one of the most drastic changes in Henry's life occurred when he became the King of England in 1413. When accepting the crown he said:

> "Sirs, you are the people that I have cherished and maintained in riot and wild governance, and here I give you all in commandment and charge you that from this day forward you forsake all misgovernance and live according to the laws of almighty God and the laws of our land".

In sticking with Strohm's theory of symbolism this "conversion" experience becomes an important piece of Lancastrian propaganda. Henry is trying to recreate his image by renouncing his wild side and embracing the important aspects of kingship. He is someone who admits he has been sinful, but has been redeemed to lead his people.

The use of symbolism and propaganda by the early Lancastrian kings suggests a policy searching for legitimacy. The fact that two men within a nine year period were executed using the statute of 1401 suggests that the Lollards were not as serious of a threat as the Lancastrians believed them to be. Strohm's theory that the Lancastrians used the Lollards as a way to provide legitimacy to their position as kings of England is a very good possibility. It could be argued that the Lancastrians implemented ideas that were influenced by the Lollards despite their reputation as fighters of heresy. The most definitive example of this can be seen during the reign of King Henry V.



Henry V as the Catalyst for Lollard ideas?

King Henry V ruled England from 1415 until his death in 1422. Known as a national hero in England for his victories against the English in the Hundred Years War, Henry V has been said to be the champion of the Church by 15th century historians K.B. McFarlane and Christopher Allmand. McFarlane goes as far as to say that Henry was the "priest's king". Henry V's reputation is that of a pious Christian looking to serve the Church. However, there are many different instances in which Henry came in direct contact with Lollard ideas.

Possibly his first encounter with might have occurred at an early age. Henry spent a lot of time with his grandfather, John of Gaunt. As established earlier in this work, Gaunt may have been a follower of Lollardy. More importantly, primary source documents have given us a hint of his protection of early Lollard preachers. Furthermore, Gaunt still maintained constant contact with many who were Lollards.

Much like Richard II, it is likely that young Henry was exposed to anti-clerical ideas. From the start, Henry proved to be a highly intellectual thinker, much like his grandfather. Of course, Henry was educated with the knowledge of riding and fighting. It was the education of the higher nobility. However, by the age of eight, Henry began diving into Latin as well as other intellectual studies of the age under the tutelage of his uncle, Henry Beaufort. K.B. McFarlane goes as far as to label Henry a scholar.





Henry may have spent a lot of time with his grandfather, he also spent some time in the court of Richard II. The court of Richard II was home to "Chaucer's Circle", the literary experts of the late 14th century. Included in this group are those Lollard knights. The Lollard knights are an interesting story, as they are considered the unsung heroes of the Lollard movement. Thanks to the research of K.B. McFarlane, many of these knights can be identified as certain Lollard supporters. The younger Henry even retained the services of Sir Lewis Clifford after the usurpation, a knight known to have Lollard sympathies.

His exposure to Lollard ideas helps makes sense of his actions in government during the reign of his father. In 1409, Henry became the Chancellor of England. Once he became chancellor the bill of 1410 was introduced by the lower commons. The bill of 1410 asked the king to revoke the *De Haeretico Comburendo* statute enacted in 1401. In addition, the commons asked the king to:

"have of the temporall possessions, lands and revenues which are lewdlie spent, consumed and wasted by the bishops, abbats, and priors, within this realme..."

This very same "Lollard bill" had previously been introduced before. The 1395 bill was introduced by Lollards who had the protection of lesser nobility in parliament. The bill became a call for the English Church to reform as well as the basic foundations of the Lollard movement:

"We pore men, tresoreris of Cryst and his apostlis, denuncyn to the lordis and the comunys of the parlement certeyn conclusionis and treuths for the reformaciun of holi chirche of Yngelond…"

Unlike many other heretical groups, the Lollards are the only such group to boldly attempt to reform the Church through the use of the law. If the Lollards posed such a threat upon the state it is likely that they would not have made the attempt at change through law. The purpose of the bill is in its conclusion:

"Qwan the chirche of Yngelond began to dote in temperalte aftir hir stepmodir the grete chirche of Rome, and chirchis were slayne be apropriacion to diuerse placys, feyth, hope and charitie begunne for to fle out of oure chirche; for pride with his sori geneaolgie of dedly synnes chalingith it to be title of heritage. This conclusiun is general and prouid be experience, custum and manere, as thou schalt herin aftir."

Under the administration of the Prince of Wales in 1410, the Lollard bills were reintroduced and began peaking more of an interest. Henry IV rejected the bill. Chronicler Raphael Holinshed mentions that the bill was never going to pass because "the king seemed so highlie to favour the clergie." Once the bill had been defeated, Holinshed indicates that the Prince of Wales was irate over the defeat of the bill.

Henry had another chance to pass the bill into law; this time while he was king. In April of 1414, Henry called a parliament in the town of Leicester, one of the hotbeds of Lollard dissent. Once again, the Lollard bill of 1410 was introduced. Holinshed writes that the chance of this bill passing was a reality:

"this bill was much noted, and more feared among the religious sort, whom surelie it touched verie neere, and therefore to find a remedie against it, they determined to assaie all waies to put by and overthrow this bill."

Holinshed's description of events indicates that the bill had a good chance of passing through parliament. A highly motivated Archbishop Chichelie did everything in his power to eliminate this bill by diverting Henry's attention towards France. He boldly announces that the king had the right to:

"the duchies of Normandie and Aquitaine, with the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the countrie of Gascoigne…as well as the whole realme of France"

What Chichele is doing is nothing short of genius. He tells Henry that he is the rightful king of France and that he should claim what is his. Henry immediately jumps at this opportunity and immediately renews hostilities with France and another phase of the Hundred Years War begins. The bill was forgotten and no other legislation was attempted during the rest of Henry V's reign.

The Lollard use of law suggests a high respect for the customs and traditions of England. To understand that change must occur through the legal process demonstrates the importance of the Lollard mindset toward secular authorities. Outside of the various bills proposed, no real threat of insurrection accompanied the Lollard movement before or immediately after the usurpation.

One final instance of Lollard ideas seeping into Lancastrian policy is Henry's administrative changes in courtly affairs. Prior to his ascension, the royal court conducted its business in French and Latin. Henry broke from this tradition by conducting his business in English. Much like Wyclif and the early Lollards, he encouraged his followers to use the vernacular as much as possible. The London Brewers' Company, for example, began keeping records in English as early as 1422:

"Whereas our mother-tongue, to wit the English tongue, hath in modern days begun to be honourably enlarged and adorned, for that our most excellent lord King Henry V hath in his letters missive and divers affairs touching his own person, more willingly chosen to declare the secrets of his will, and for the better understanding of his people, hath with diligent mind procured the common idiom to be commended in the exercise of writing".

As a result, the English language became a symbol for a developing English nationalism that had not previously been experienced before. It would serve Henry well as the nation backed him during his campaigns in France. The rise of English nationalism can be attributed to the use of the English language.

Conclusion: Was the Lollard Movement a true threat?

It is the goal of this work to determine whether the Lollard movement was a true threat to the early Lancastrian kings, Henry IV and Henry V. When examining the evidence presented its seems clear that not only did the Lancastrians exaggerate the Lollard threat, they used some of their ideas to further Lancastrian ambitions. John of Gaunt's protection of Wyclif and early Lollard preachers allowed for the movement to grow substantially between 1382 and 1399. The fact that Richard II kept in his company men that had Lollard sympathies tells a lot about Richard's feelings to these new ideas. While it is true that he became a staunch prosecutor of the Lollards after the events of 1388, he never took serious steps to combat the Lollard heresy head on.

Henry IV, on the other hand, made the Lollards part of a deal in which he could legitimize his right to the English throne. Thomas Arundel's role in the Revolution of 1399 cannot be stressed enough. Being a high profile churchmen provided Henry with the motivation to depose Richard Plantagenet and establish the Lancastrian line. Only a true Christian king should lead England during a time of turmoil. Henry became that Christian champion thanks to the support provided by Thomas Arundel.

It was a winning situation for Arundel as well. If there was a serious threat made by Lollardy it was to the social and religious orders of the day. The English church was losing the battle against the Lollard menace as heretical preachers were convincing the populous that personal piety and reading the bible was the true Christian way of life. The emphasis and rise in literacy put forth by Lollard preachers would become an important cultural development that would have a profound impact on the English Reformation.

The protection that the Lollards had under Richard II and John of Gaunt quickly dissipated with the Revolution of 1399. Lancastrian agenda took center stage in the form of propaganda, symbolism, and deceit as the Lollards became one of the many pawns in the Lancastrian game. The movement provided no immediate threat to the stability of the English throne. It even used the law to try to change the social and religious culture of the time period. The actions in parliament throughout the Lancastrian years of government also demonstrate that the early Lancastrian kings were keen on using Lollard ideas when it fit their own agendas.

END



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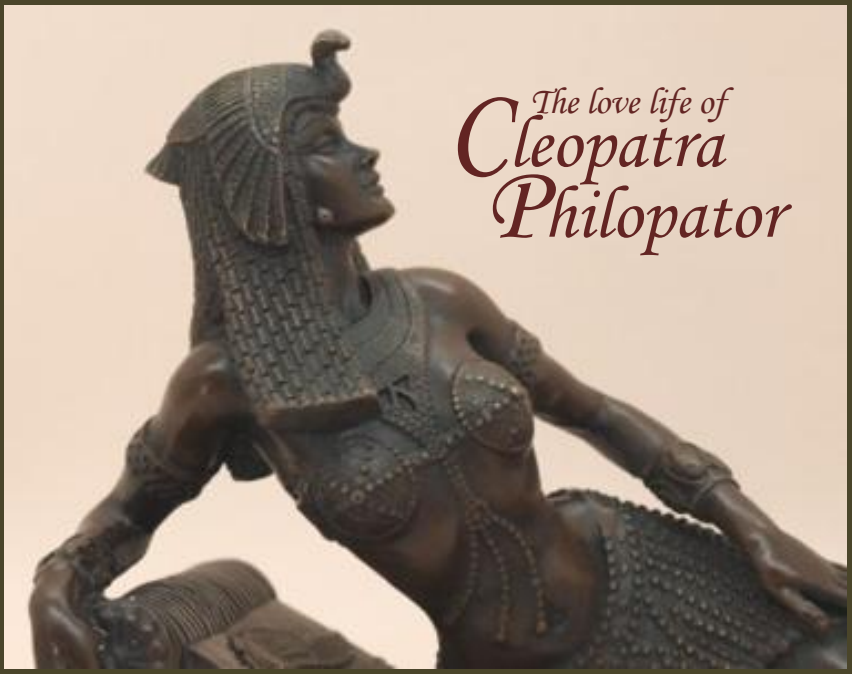
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b y S a l a h

Cleopatra VII Thea Philopator, the last member of the Ptolemaic Dynasty to rule ancient Egypt, is one of history's great seductresses. Or at least, that's how the story goes. Her irresistable charm, feminine wiles, and maddening beauty have been the stuff of Western legend for two-thousand years, and have been immortalized in art and cinema.

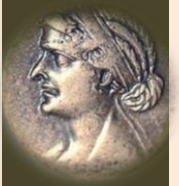
The hypothesis that Cleopatra was homely, if not actually ugly, in physical appearance is already well-known. We have very few contemporary pieces of evidence for her physical appearance. We have busts dating to the Julio-Claudian period (27 BCE - 68 CE) that depict her as a fairly attractive, while contemporary Ptolemaic coinage depicts her profile as everything from beautiful to hag-like.

Certain physical traits seem to have been hereditary in Cleopatra's family, and these include long, hooked noses and a tendency to become obese. Cleopatra's busts do gently hint at her having a strong nose, while some of her coins depict her as nasally well-endowed to an extreme that borders on grotesque. No reference is made to obesity in Cleopatra (though we can safely assume that the middle-aged mother of three in 31 BCE may not have been as shapely as the teenaged princess who seduced Caesar nearly twenty years earlier).

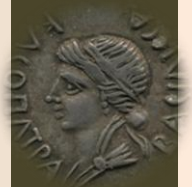
Nothing is known about Cleopatra's mother, and this has led to much debate about her ethnicity. A skeleton recently found in Ephesus, which could possibly be that of her murdered sister Arsinoe, may hint at partially sub-Saharan African ancestry. Even this may tell us nothing; there is no indication that Cleopatra and Arsinoe had the same mother. It was rumored that Cleopatra equated pale skin with beauty, and bathed in donkey's milk in the belief that it would make her skin fairer. This is, in fact, one of the very few ancient references to Cleopatra's physical traits. Though she was a descendant of a Macedonian general, Cleopatra herself may have had black African, Semitic, or even Celtic or Thracian ancestors. There is little reason to speculate when nothing is known about her mother, or the mothers of most of her forefathers.

Despite modern attempts at stirring controversy about Cleopatra's appearance, she could have hardly been ugly, to have become the lover of not one but two of the most high-profile men in Roman society. Even so, our sources agree that Cleopatra's personality is what made her irresistable. She was flirtatious, kittenish, and seemingly prone to making cutely unintelligent observations, and yet she was also fluent in a number of languages, cunning, well-read, and extremely bold. She was fascinating as a conversation partner. Her first encounter with Caesar would suggest that she was prone to thinking 'outside the box', and her depiction in a temple relief not as a Greek monarch, but an Egyptian pharaoh, would suggest she understood the country she was ruling much better than her ancestors had.

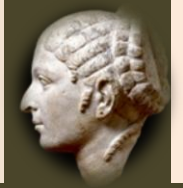
Cleopatra has been portrayed as a sex goddess for centuries. And yet, ancient sources only attribute two lovers to her - Julius Caesar, and Marcus Antonius. She married both of her brothers, as was Ptolemaic tradition, but their tender ages and the friction between the











siblings makes it unlikely that these incestuous unions were consummated. Cleopatra was only eighteen when she first met Caesar, and had undoubtedly lived the sheltered life typical of female royalty throughout history - this has led Adrian Goldsworthy to suggest that she was probably a virgin at the time.

The union of Cleopatra and Antony was not quite the tragic romance of lore - both lovers had their own, separate agendas and ambitions, and were apart for long periods of time. Nonetheless, they may have married (by Greco-Egyptian, rather than Roman custom) and they were the parents of no less than three children. In the last years of her life, Cleopatra stands out partly as a devoted mother, but also as a Roman puppet attempting to prolong the inevitable.

Cleopatra was certainly devious and conniving (as any ancient monarch would have to be), but history hardly seems to defend her stereotypical image. She was probably neither remarkably beautiful or ugly; it was her personality that seemingly made her irresistable. The historical Cleopatra was a fairly responsible queen, and there is no evidence for her having any manner of sexual or romantic relations with any man except for Caesar and Antony - hardly the royal prostitute of legend.

Posthumously, Cleopatra was a victim of the Roman propaganda machine. The staunchly patriarchal nature of Roman society made the notion of a strong-minded female ruler reprehensible, even unnatural. The Romans had a tendency to turn all female monarchs and chieftains into either bloodthirsty amazons, or Eastern whores. Thanks to the grossly biased nature of our sources, we will never catch any more than the briefest glimpses of who Cleopatra VII Thea Philopator truly was. Even in death she remains alluring and tantalizing - just the way she may have wanted it to be.

END

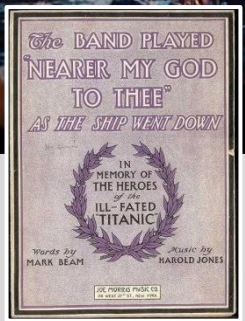
by Brushedwithmystery

The Titanic
Wallace Hartley's
Violin





Maria Robinson



Their story is the stuff of legends: while surrounded by chaos, human instinct said they should escape to save their own life, eight musicians serenaded the passengers with "***Nearer My God to Thee,"*** as the ship broke in two and plunged into the abyss of the North Atlantic- a graveyard for 1, 524 passengers.

Only 705 people survived the disaster, the youngest being a nine month old baby. The lifeboats could have held almost 500 more lives. The first ship sent out to retrieve the bodies, The CS Mackay-Bennett, found so many, that they ran out of embalming fluid. They decided to retrieve the bodies of the first class passengers with the justification that their bodies might be needed to settle large legal disputes regarding inheritance and estates. A total of 205 bodies were recovered and gathered in the Mayflower Curling Rink in Halifax.

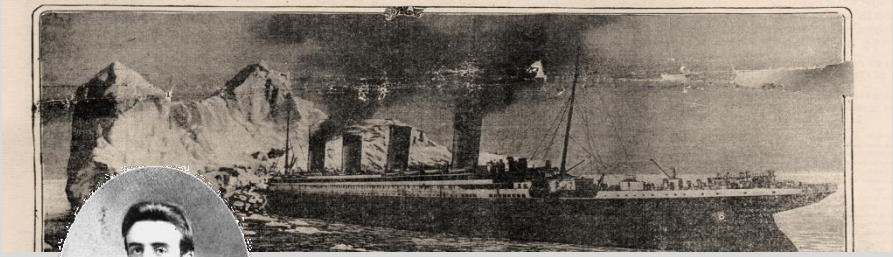
New York American
EDITION FOR GREATER NEW YORK.
No. 10,499. TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1912. 16 PAGES PRICE ONE CENT

J. J. ASTOR LOST ON TITANIC

1,500 TO 1,800 DEAD

John Jacob Astor was among the passengers who went down with the ship, according to a wireless dispatch received by Bradstreets last night from the liner Olympic. Mrs. Astor was saved and is being brought to shore by the Carpathia.

The Wireless Operator at Cape Race, Newfoundland, Flashes: "Eighteen Hundred Lives Have Been Lost in the Wreck of the Titanic."





Thirty-three year old Wallace Hartley, the band leader that fateful night on the Titanic, was playing the violin his fiancé, Maria Robinson, gave him to celebrate their engagement. It wasn't the only Atlantic voyage he had been on; he and most of the other musicians had played on ships such as the Lusitania. The only French musician, Roger Marie Bricoux, had played on the ship that would save the survivors of the Titanic. Many historians claim that the violin- strapped to Hartley's body, was found by one of the rescue ships sent to retrieve the dead. Historian and Biographer Steve Turner, in his book ***The Band Played On,*** claims to have seen photos of an inscription on the tailpiece from Maria to Hartley. When Hartley's body was returned the England, the violin was missing. Some evidence suggests that Maria might have obtained the violin- to remember her beloved. Honouring Hartley's memory she was never to marry. The auctioneers Henry Aldridge and Son, who specialize in Titanic memorabilia, are in the process of authenticating the violin. While there is much secrecy around this instrument, we will undoubtedly know the truth of the violin in the near future.

Update by the editor ----------
The many tests conducted by a number of scientists have been concluded and the results are in. The violin was Hartley's.



by Newmodelsoldier

Si Deus Nobiscum quis contra nos
If God Is With Us, Then Who Is Against Us?

The above was the official motto of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during its heights as a significant power in Eastern Europe. Vast and populated with a multitude of ethnicities, languages, cultures and religions, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (it's official name for itself) holds a special place in the annals of history.

Born out of intermittent warfare between the Polish and Lithuanian states, the Commonwealth holds an official beginning at the signing of the Treaty of Lublin in 1569. A feature of the union was that the monarchy was elective, an idea born out of the simple fact that the signing Polish monarch, Sigismund Augustus II, was childless.

Such a situation allowed for the strange political machine that was to come later, the first series of constitutional changes made after Sigismund's death in 1572.



Grand Standard Bearer of the Crown (Chorąży Wielki Koronny), Sebastian Sobieski, at the wedding procession of King Sigismund III, as painted anonymously on the Stockholm Roll (c. 1605)



The Republic at the Zenith of Its Power. ***Golden Liberty. The Royal Election of 1573***, by Jan Matejko

The Golden Liberty

The Golden Liberty refers to the political structure of the Commonwealth, quite unusual when absolutist monarchs were by far the norm around the world. The office of the king was constitutionally quite weak, the main power wielded by a sizable class of nobles (*Szlachta*) and the Parliament (*Sejm*) which the King was required to hold every two years.

The institutions of government were bolstered by certain documents, considerable political bulwarks that held firm guarantees for nobles, and for the average citizen. The first of note are the Henrician Articles, or King Henry's Articles, named after Henry of Valois who was elected in 1573. Included in the articles were stipulations that the King was bound to hold, such as the need to gain approval by the *Sejm* in order to introduce new taxes, nor could the King declare war or peace without the approval of the *Sejm*, and so on and so forth. The Henrician Articles served as an unofficial Constitution of the Commonwealth.



Henry of Valois

Another fascinating inclusion in the documents of government for the Commonwealth were religious freedom articles guaranteed by the Warsaw Confederation Act of 1573, the first such document in Europe. Previously, religious freedom had been unofficially observed, but the Act preserved it as an ironbound document, protecting nobles and freemen in regards to their religion. For a Commonwealth that included many denominations of Christians, and a considerable population of Jews and Muslims, the act was incredibly important to hold the Commonwealth together.

The *Liberum Veto* allowed a single landholder to reject the majority of the *Sejm*, a right that protected individuals from dominance but also frustrated genuine attempts at progress from time to time, and was eventually abolished in 1793. The right to *Konfederacja* allowed groups of nobles, clergymen or army officers to form together to drive forward policy, an institution that would regularly clash with the *liberum veto*.

All these documents and institutions allowed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to occupy a unique place in history. The religious freedom enjoyed by its free citizens was unparalleled, prompting a French cardinal to refer to Poland as "a haven for heretics", and the political freedoms defended in its unofficial constitution gave rising to a combative but thriving political scene that ushered in a golden age for the Commonwealth.

However, such a conflicting political system eventually forced a period of stagnation, rights such as the *liberum veto* disrupting important changes necessary to modernize and protect the Commonwealth as it grew, suffered setbacks, and changed over the centuries. It's chaotic system lead to insurrections, and abuses of power by the most powerful amongst the nobles. Still, for a significant period of history, the Commonwealth was as free as one could get in an iron-fisted Europe.

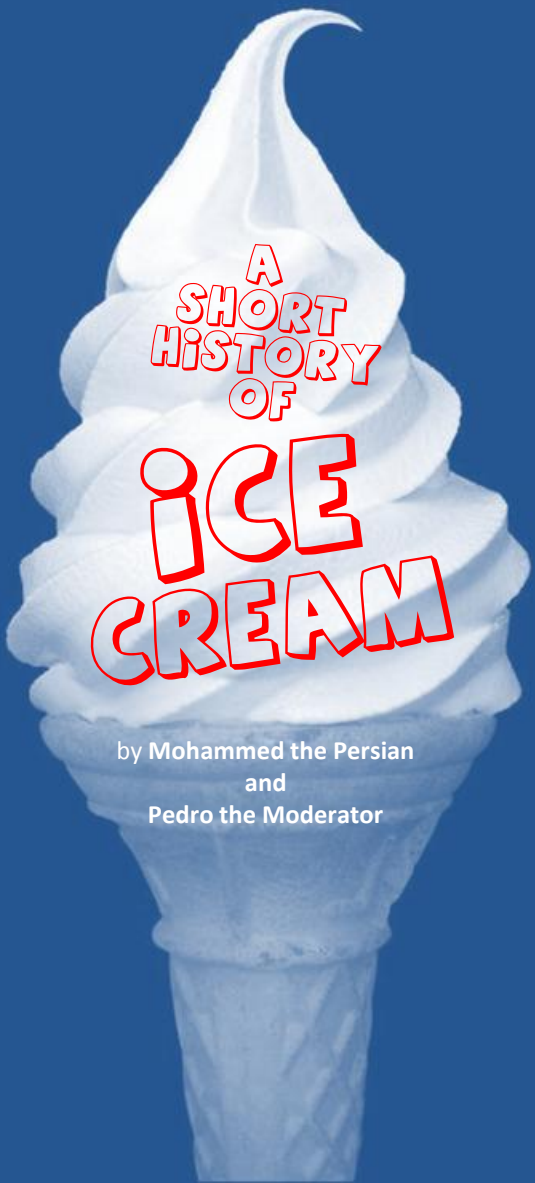


A Polish Nobleman by Rembrandt



On January 28, 1573, the Articles of the Warsaw Confederation were signed by the king and the nobility, granting religious freedoms.

END



A SHORT HISTORY OF ICE CREAM

by **Mohammed the Persian**
and
Pedro the Moderator



Perhaps one of the most iconic cold snacks of all times, popularized in the 20th century due to the availability of refrigerators. The ice cream has been a sign of a simple way to have a cheap but ever-so-sweet snack during the blistering heat. But the history of ice cream goes back millenniums! In this post, we shall examine and find out who invented (or rather, discovered) the ice cream, when did it go mainstream and stuff.

When Did It First Appear:

Records show that the Persian Empire is credited to have invented the ice cream. According to historians, sometime prior to 400 BC, people would pour concentrated grape juice over snow and eat it whenever the weather used to be hot (apparently, underground chambers were used to storage rooms for this treat). Cities such as Hamedan had seen this occur.

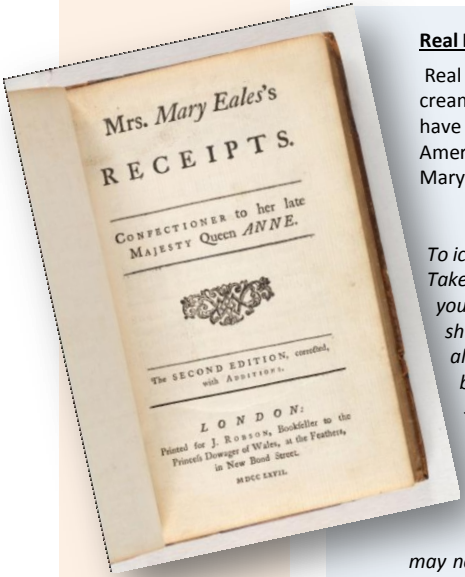
During later periods, modifications and additions were made to the ice cream, such as adding rose water and herbs. By around 200 BC, ice cream appeared in ancient China which was in the form of frozen milk and rice! The Romans soon followed, using snow covered with fruit toppings.

Perhaps the first real mainstream version of ice cream was created by the Arabs in the 10th century, who (for the first time ever) used milk as a main ingredient (heavily sweetened with sugar) instead of the traditional fruit juices.

By this time, it had been widespread throughout the Arab World.

During the 1500s and 1600s, Ice-cream finally appeared in Europe, it was so tasty that legends say that :
Charles I of England was supposedly so impressed by the "frozen snow", that he offered his own ice cream maker a lifetime pension in return for keeping the formula secret, so that ice cream could be a royal prerogative.
Though, it is fair to say that it was largely restricted to aristocrats and the upper class.




Mrs. *Mary Eales's*

RECEIPTS.

CONFECTIONER to her late MAJESTY Queen *ANNE*.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected, with ADDITIONS.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBSON, Bookseller to the Princess Dowager of Wales, at the Feathers, in New Bond Street.

MDCC LXVII.

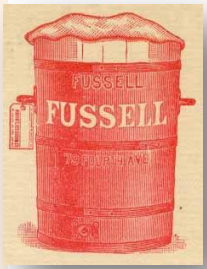
Real Ice Cream:

Real Ice Cream, otherwise known as the ice cream we consume today, was thought to have been invented in 18th England and America. It even appeared in a cookbook [Mrs. Mary Eales's Receipts]:

To ice cream.

Take Tin Ice-Pots, fill them with any Sort of Cream you like, either plain or sweeten'd, or Fruit in it; shut your Pots very close; to six Pots you must allow eighteen or twenty Pound of Ice, breaking the Ice very small; there will be some great Pieces, which lay at the Bottom and Top: You must have a Pail, and lay some Straw at the Bottom; then lay in your Ice, and put in amongst it a Pound of Bay-Salt; set in your Pots of Cream, and 93 lay Ice and Salt between every Pot, that they may not touch; but the Ice must lie round them on every Side; lay a good deal of Ice on the Top, cover the Pail with Straw, set it in a Cellar where no Sun or Light comes, it will be froze in four Hours, but it may stand longer; then take it out just as you use it; hold it in your Hand and it will slip out. When you wou'd freeze any Sort of Fruit, either Cherries, Rasberries, Currants, or Strawberries, fill your Tin-Pots with the Fruit, but as hollow as you can; put to them Lemmonade, made with Spring-Water and Lemmon-Juice sweeten'd; put enough in the Pots to make the Fruit hang together, and put them in Ice as you do Cream.

Bottom right:: Jacob Fussell, the father of the ice cream industry got his start in Baltimore. As the owner of a dairy farm he would turn the extra cream into ice cream to turn a profit. His ice cream was so popular that he ended up making the jump and started the first ice cream factory in the country. The first ice cream "trucks" were filled with ice and salt; too much of both and the ice cream would be frozen solid and could not be sold. Here is a replication of the wagons which would roam the streets. *More on next page.*





The Oxford English Dictionary cites 1744 as first in print use of the word Ice-cream.

Ice cream was brought to America via Quaker colonists, and it was thought to have been a favourite treat for the likes of Ben Franklin, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Also, in 1843, Nancy Johnson of Philadelphia was issued the first U.S. patent for a small-scale hand cranked ice cream freezer. The Ice-cream cones, sundae and Banana splits became famous around the turn of the century.

Though in the UK, it was still expensive to buy ice-cream and hence, Britain relied on imports of snow from Norway and America.

It was only during the second half of the 20th Century did ice-creams become cheap, due to the widespread availability of refrigerators. During this time, companies such as Baskin Robbins were established with mottos like "31 flavors for each day of the month".

An important feature during this time was the invention of 'Soft Ice-Cream'. It was invented in Britain by a chemistry team (of which, future British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was a part of). Companies such as Dairy Queen pioneered the age of soft ice-cream.

But today, Ice-cream is widely available and is relatively nothing in price, when compared to previous years. Ice-cream is now available in more than a thousand different flavours, modified with every country and culture it meets and it continues to be one of the most iconic symbols of the human diet. His story in cartoon on the next page.



During the 18th and early 19th centuries, ice cream would've been made in a sorbetiere.



Placed in a tub of ice and salt, it was turned round and round by hand.

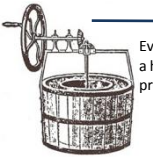


In 1843, Nancy M. Johnson of Philadelphia, PA, obtained a patent for an new type of ice cream freezer. Rather than spin the interior container by hand, it was turned using a handle placed at the top.

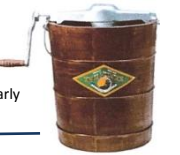
A paddle was added inside to assist with the churning of the cold mixture. It also scraped any frozen matter off the sides of the cylinder, sending it to the center to be mixed in and stirred 'round again.

According to Linda Campbell Franklin, in her book *300 Years of Kitchen Collectibles*, there were roughly 60 patents granted for ice cream freezers between 1844 and 1873. Most were variations of Johnson's design. Here are three versions from *Kitchen Collectibles* (incidentally, all these were Patented by residents of Baltimore).





Eventually, someone figured out that a handle placed on the side made the process a bit easier.



And the more-refined, early 20th Century model.



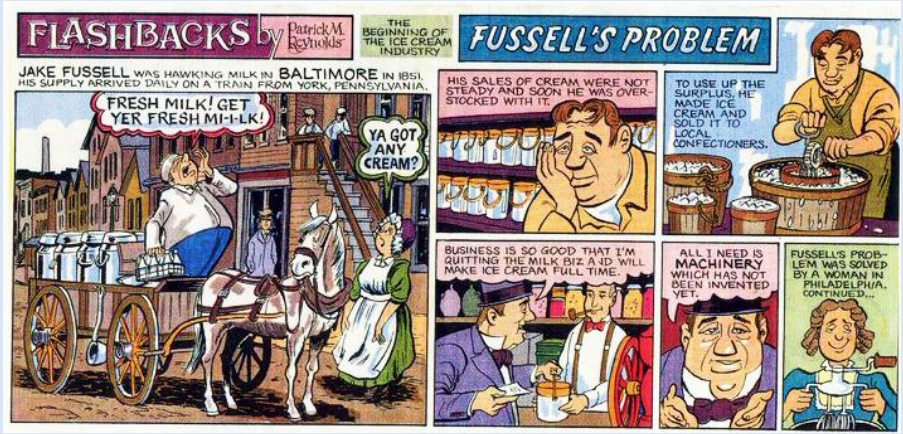
How days, most ice cream makers are powered by electricity. Just pour in your cream mixture, plug it in, and *voila!* within minutes you're enjoying some cold, yummy ice cream.

Specification of Letters Patent No. 3,254, dated September 9, 1843; Antedated July 29, 1843.

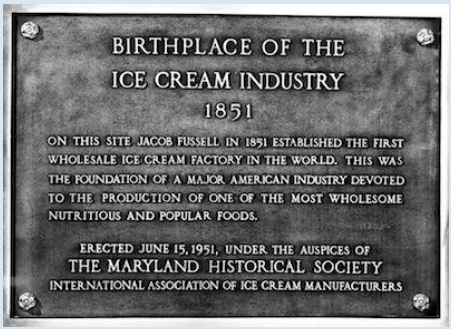
To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, NANCY M. JOHNSON of the city of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania, have invented a new and useful improvement in the Art of Producing Artificial Ices, and that the following is a full and exact description of the machinery for carrying into effect the said improvement. etc. etc.

The above information conflicts with the cartoonist's version.
Legend in the making?







Ice cream plaque at Hillen and Exeter streets. (BGE Collection, Baltimore Museum of Industry)

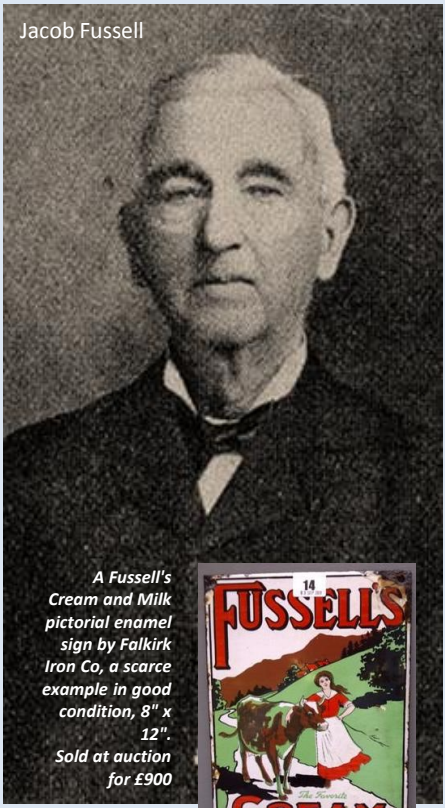
The ice cream business has a long history in Baltimore. There is a plaque on Exeter Street proclaiming the location "The Birthplace of the American Ice Cream Industry."

Jacob Fussell a Baltimorean and Quaker, is referred to in food lore as the Henry Ford of the ice-cream world.

In 1851, with an over-abundance of fresh cream, that Fussell was in the business of distributing, the proverbial light bulb went off.

Freeze it he thought. And freeze it he did, in large-scale production machinery that he invented. Distributing it from horse drawn ice carts – he was able to offer it more cheaply and to more people – and an industry was born.

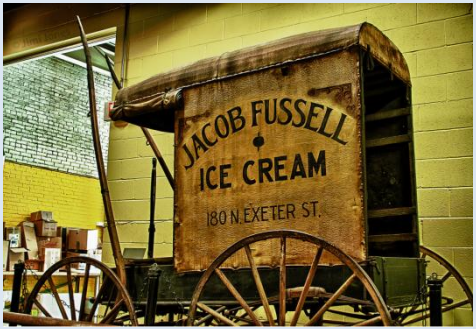
Then, as it often does, commercialization diluted the luscious and true iced-cream of the small batch or home producer.



A Fussell's Cream and Milk pictorial enamel sign by Falkirk Iron Co, a scarce example in good condition, 8" x 12". Sold at auction for £900

And there's more to commend Fussell for than ice cream entrepreneurship. A practicing Quaker, he was staunchly opposed to slavery. He worked on the Underground Railroad, and his outspoken abolitionism got him besieged by one of Baltimore's infamous angry mobs.

Don't look for Fussell's name in your grocer's freezer--a larger firm bought the Fussell company in the 1920s and the founder's name was dropped. (The circa-20s cart pictured below can be seen at the Baltimore Museum of Industry; that's curator of exhibits Carol Runyon with the cool cone.) But in 1951 the local ice cream giant was given a gala centennial celebration. Thousands gathered around the East Baltimore intersection of Hillen and Exeter streets--sight of Fussell's original operation--to dedicate a bronze plaque deeming the block the "Birthplace of the Ice Cream Industry." Politicos spoke, bands played, kids downed gallons of free ice cream, and Hollywood heartthrobs Tony Curtis and Piper Laurie were crowned the "Sweethearts of the Ice Cream Industry."





Baltimore Museum of Industry

Helping to organize the festivities was another local ice cream icon: L. Manuel Hendler. His name too is gone from supermarket shelves, but it's probably not forgotten. Generations of Baltimoreans grew up eating Hendler's ice cream, which was sold from 1905 through the late 1960s. Indeed, Hendler's--billed as "The Velvet Kind"-- was so ubiquitous in its day that many soda-fountain customers probably never knew other brands existed.

Hendler's big sales jump occurred in 1912, when he established a state-of-the-art ice cream factory on East Baltimore Street. There the chilly confection flowed forth without ever being touched by human hands (a far cry from Fussell's pre-refrigeration plant, with its manually cranked machines and mountains of ice).

Hendler's company dealt mainly in the big three--vanilla, chocolate, and strawberry--but the public also developed a hankering for the exotic. Hendler's ice cream scientists created dozens of curious flavors, including ginger for the Hutzler's tearoom and a unique tomato sherbet for the Southern Hotel (where it was served as a side dish rather than a dessert). The company's rum-soaked egg-nog ice cream was a big seller around the holidays.

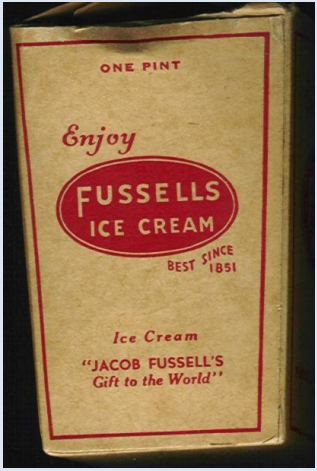
Ice cream was very good to Hendler, who lived in a white Reservoir Hill mansion local wags took to calling "Vanilla on the Lake." But like Fussell's before it, his company was eventually absorbed by a larger, national brand. The only places the Hendler name can be seen these days are antique shops, where the company's ice cream paraphernalia can occasionally be found.

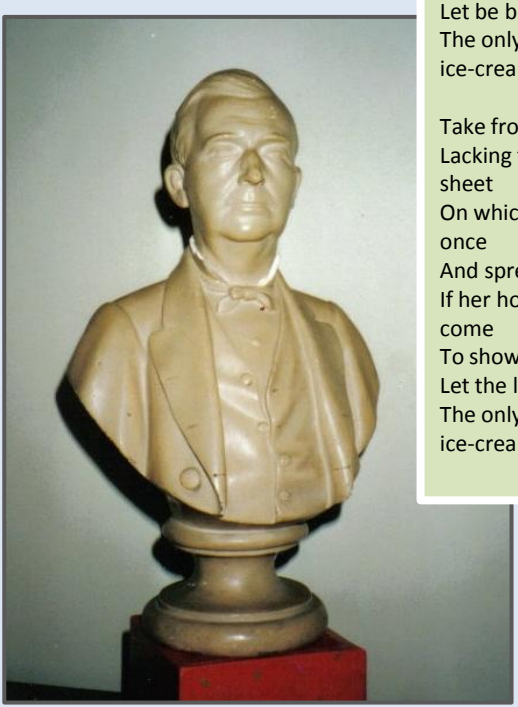
Americans still eat a prodigious amount of ice cream (according to the Washington-based International Ice Cream Association, the Baltimore metro area consumed 6.3 million gallons of it in 1996--enough to rank it among the top-10 ice-cream-consuming cities in the U.S.). So the next time you get an ice cream jones, raise a cone to Jacob Fussell and L. Manuel Hendler, vanished captains of a once-flourishing, soft and sweet city industry. As the poet Wallace Stevens wrote, "The only emperor is the emperor of ice cream."



Flanked by permanent images of the franchise pillars – **Bucky Harris** and **Walter Johnson** – the window of this advertising dial indexes photo views of all the other principals that comprised the World Champion Washington Senators of 1924. How ingenious! The front of the two-piece dial is printed as a simulated baseball, and prominently announces its sponsor, "*Fussell's Ice Cream*." The light cardboard medium is 2-3/4" in diameter, and the window (functioned by a small pointed protrusion at the perimeter) affords admirers selected peeks at the balance of these favorites, to include Ossie Bluege, **Goose Goslin**, Joe Judge, Nemo Leibold, Firpo Marberry, John Martina, Earl McNeely, George Mogridge, Curly Ogden, Roger Peckinpaugh, **Sam Rice**, Muddy Ruel, Allen Russell, and Tom Zachary. Though nowhere dated, we readily isolate the vintage of this antique to that pinnacle 1924 season in that Martina played his only Major League season that year. Not to be slighted here, Fussell's Ice Cream is a legend in the dairy industry. Founded by Jacob Fussell in the mid-19th Century, the company thrived in several eastern cities, and is recognized as the first wholesaler of the tasty confection in the United States.

sold at auction in 2010 for $570





The Emperor of Ice-Cream
by Wallace Stevens

Call the roller of big cigars,
The muscular one, and bid him whip
In kitchen cups concupiscent curds.
Let the wenches dawdle in such dress
As they are used to wear, and let the boys
Bring flowers in last month's newspapers.
Let be be finale of seem.
The only emperor is the emperor of ice-cream.

Take from the dresser of deal,
Lacking the three glass knobs, that sheet
On which she embroidered fantails once
And spread it so as to cover her face.
If her horny feet protrude, they come
To show how cold she is, and dumb.
Let the lamp affix its beam.
The only emperor is the emperor of ice-cream.

END



by unclefred

One of the most famous fights of the old west involved the hot tempered Marshall, Dallas Stoudenmire.

The battle called, "Four dead in five seconds", erupted on April 14th 1881 in El Paso. Stoudenmire had been Marshall for just 3 days. Ex Marshall George Campbell was drinking in the notorious Keating's Saloon and began arguing with Constable Gus Krempkau. John Hale, a friend of Campbell pulled out one of Campbells guns from his waist and shot the Constable, yelling "George, I got you covered!" Drunk, Hale ran outside and hid behind an adobe pillar just as Marshal Stoudenmire heard the shot, Got up from the dinner table at the Globe Restaurant and ran toward the saloon brandishing two pistols. He took a shot at Hale, but missed, striking a bystander. When Hale swung out from behind the post, the Marshall shot him between the eyes. That's when Campbell ran out waving a pistol saying "Gentlemen, this is not my fight"! Krempkau, mistakenly judged that Campbell had shot him, then fired his pistol twice at Campbell before losing consciousness.

The first bullet struck Campbell's gun and broke his right wrist, while the second hit him in the foot. Campbell screamed and scooped up his gun from the ground with his left hand.. Stoudenmire then fired three quick shots into his stomach. As he fell, Campbell yelled, "You sob, you have murdered me"! The wounded Constable inside the saloon then died. Four dead in five seconds.

The gunfight was a big story in the papers of the day, making Stoudenmire a brief legend. He killed seven more men over the next year, as he enforced the law with his pistols. He himself was shot and killed in 1882. But that's another story.

END



by HackneyedScribe

Mohism was a philosophy that flowered from the early Warring States period. This school of thought was founded by Mozi (5th century BCE), who lived during a time of unending wars of attrition between rivaling states. Seeing the poverty that war could bring, Mozi introduced a novel concept that love between people and states should be mutually equal. By achieving this, the strong would not attack the weak, and the weak would not attack the weaker. After all, when every state views its neighbors as they view themselves, there would be no need for warfare. Although Mozi championed peace and mutual love between all nations, he and his disciples were quick to fly to the defense of weaker powers facing invasion. Directly challenging invaders was their way of dissuading aggressive warfare. Mohists were not simple soldiers, however, but focused in perfecting defensive siege techniques. In this sense they were military engineers as well as philosophers. The ancient Mohist text Mojing contains 20 chapters devoted to defensive techniques in an enemy siege, but 9 chapters are completely lost and not even the surviving chapters have all of its original passages intact. The chapters that remain to us, though not always completely, are “Fortification of the City Gate”, “Defense against Attack from an Elevation”, “Defense against Attack with Ladders”, “Preparation against Water”, “Preparation against a Sudden Attack”, “Preparation against Tunneling”, “Defense against an Ant Rush”, “Sacrifice for Meeting the Enemy”, “Flags and Pennants”, “Commands and Orders”, and “Miscellaneous Measures in Defense”. This essay means to give a general idea of what is left to us from Mohist defensive techniques in a siege.



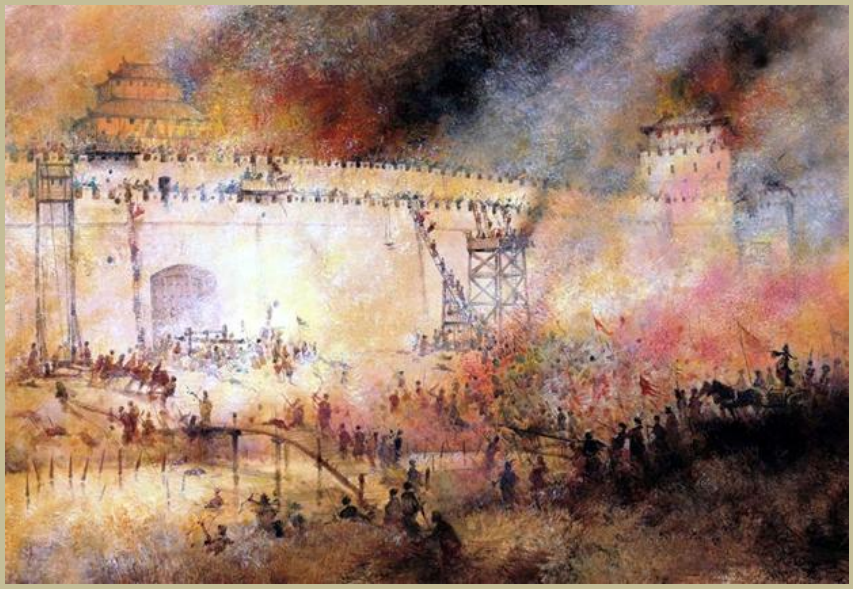
Defensive Constructions

Mozi gave a very detailed overview about how a typical city should construct its defenses, yet it is highly doubtful if most cities would have the resources to adopt everything he prescribed. The following should be seen as the "best case scenario" for the defender, rather than the less than perfect situations of reality. The general defensive city gate would come with portcullises of overlapping leaves, a trench, as well as a sluice gate. Gates and doors have holes drilled through, and holes were also in the walls directly above the gate. In the case that the enemy resorts to flaming arrows, water would be poured through these holes so the doors would not burn down. The gate bar and lever must be made of metal such as iron, and gate bolts must be coated with iron. Built within the walls near the gate were furnaces with bellows and pipes. If the gate was breached the furnace would be used to pump fire and smoke through the pipes, followed by "hanging fires" to burn enemies coming through. "Hanging fires" were described as burning charcoals released by furnaces from above. Enemy troops would sometimes to be allowed within the gate only to fall victim to hanging fires, and such incendiary assaults would be followed immediately by an attack of crack troops from sally ports to scatter the enemy. The top of the city wall itself should have retractable walkways and suspended screens. At every corner of a wall was a two story tower. A city wall should be complemented by a moat with stakes planted at the bottom. Defenders could cross the moat by means of a suspension bridge, but the bridge could be easily lifted up when the enemy was close. The bridge could be covered with earth and brushwood, with its drawing mechanism concealed, so that it would look like a simple path to an enemy army. In this way when part of the enemy army crossed the bridge, the bridge would be raised to split the army in two. This was used to trap sections of the enemy army as easy pickings for the defenders. Parapets should be on both sides of the city wall, and a trench should be dug between the outer and inner parapets. The trench, like the moat, should be filled with stakes. Joining the parapet is a bamboo fence protected by crossbowmen. "Revolving shooting machines" should be placed in between parapets, and each machine was accompanied by two protective shields. Beyond the wall, anything within an arrow's flight that could be used as a cover should be destroyed. Palisades should be fixed outside to impede enemy attack.

Besides the palisades, five rows of sharpened stakes were also present. Within the wall, four alters for each cardinal direction were built to ask the spirits for blessings in battle and to give sacrificial thanks after a triangular arrangement. This way when one fort is under attack the other two can provide support.
victory. If a city was beside a river, the besieger had the capability to build dikes to inundate the besieged. The defenders could respond by digging holes deep enough to siphon off flood waters. Towers of various sizes, as according to their different functions, were places at specific intervals lining the inner wall of the city. Some were used for archery platforms, others were for observation, others were for communication, and yet others were specifically designed to counter enemy siege engines or techniques. Some towers such as the "moving parapets" were even mobile. Wells and latrines, like the towers, were also placed alongside the wall at specific intervals. Wells were not only used for water, but were also used to pinpoint enemy tunneling. Furnaces should be placed at specific intervals so defenders could pour boiling water, burning charcoal, or heated sand against attackers. Chimneys should be built high to prevent losing control of fire. At the four corners of each wall should be dwellings built for the four commandants in charge of city defense. The dwelling of the general himself should be surrounded by a very high wall. Walled dwellings must also be built to house prisoners, while separate walled dwellings were needed to house trusted spies and knights.

All walled dwellings were complemented by towers and parapets. Dwellings in the vicinity of the city must be destroyed before the enemy army arrives, while nearby wells outside of the city must be filled. Around the countryside, anything that could not be brought into the city in time but could be made use by the enemy must be destroyed. In this way the enemy would have neither water nor shelter. During peacetime, the most dangerous sections of any road should have three forts built in a triangular arrangement. This way when one fort is under attack the other two can provide support.

Wells were not only used for water, but were also used to pinpoint enemy tunneling.



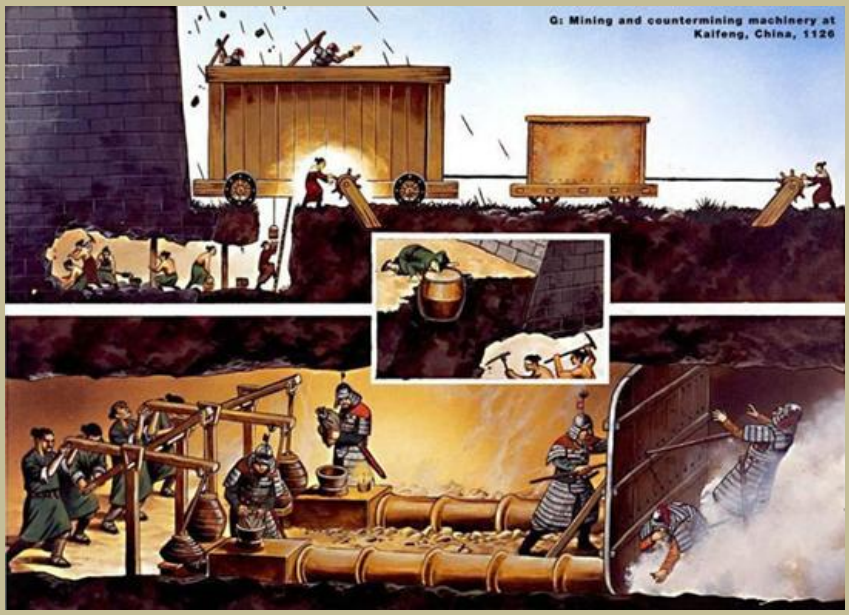
The Besiegers

The various ways that a city could be attacked was listed as “approachers, hooks, battering rams, ladders, mounds, water(inundation), tunnels, sudden attacks, empty cavern, ant approach, tank vessels, and high carts”. Approachers and tank vessels were ships made to carry soldiers, although the approacher was actually just a pair of ships joined together. Both the attacker and the defender used these vessels. Approachers were described as carrying thirty men, each armed with a crossbow. Four of them also had a “youfang” polearm. Tank vessels also carry thirty men. Twelve of them have armour and helmets and were armed with a youfang. The rest made do with a miao. It is questionable if the attackers were armed as thus, for the passage describing these ships were solely about what how defender should use them. For both the attacker and the defender, these ships were used should the city be flooded by the besieging army. City walls during the Warring States period were made of rammed earth. This mode of construction provides very sturdy walls immune to sapping, but was very weak against water. As such it was not uncommon for nearby rivers to be redirected by dikes to flood enemy cities. The defender would use approachers and tank vessels to sally out of the city against enemy dikes, and shooting machines on top of the walls would give them covering fire. The besiegers most likely used the same ships to beat back these sallies. When water was not used to attack the wall, armies could use make mounds beneath it, with the front covered by shields. This is called a “sheep’s bank ramp”. Once the mount became high enough, soldiers could be placed on top of it to attack the city walls with crossbows. Mozi scorned such tactics as wasteful of energy, labeling any attacker

who resorted to it as stupid. Nevertheless, similar tactics were still being practiced long after the Warring States period. The mound tactic was categorized with the use of the "high cart" as the High Approach. The high cart does not actually attack the city. It is merely a mobile platform of adjustable height which allowed soldiers to look within the city at an elevation. This gave the besiegers an advantage in reconnaissance. "Sudden attacks" were just the attack of soldiers sent to pour through the city once the gate was breached. This would be similar to the ant approach, which was a massive infantry assault against the defending city. Hooks, battering rams, ladders, and tunnels seem obvious enough that they need not be described here. Mozi also described the cloud ladder, an implement that was said to be heavy and difficult to move. It was a cross between the siege tower and the ladder. Alas, because nearly half of the Mojing was lost, there is no information about what the "empty cavern" was. Rams and hooks did not have their own sections either, but they seem obvious enough to give the reader a general idea. Mention of the siege tower is also notably absent from what is left of the Mojing, though we know of its existence from other contemporary texts such as Wu ZiXu's Manuel of Naval Tactics. If Mozi mentioned siege towers, then they would be categorized under rams much like how sheep ramps and high carts were categorized under "Attack from an Elevation". Although the means of direct attack described by the Mojing were many, another contemporary work called "The Six Secret Teachings of Jiang Ziya" emphasize taking cities through passive means. The book advocates that the property of the conquered people were to be left alone, while prisoners and captives should not be slain. Cities should merely have their supply lines cut off. The invading army should stress that the grievance was with their ruler alone, so that cities would willingly submit without need for a fight.



"The Miao Dao may vary in size and weight, but a standard version would be approximately 128 cm long (blade 98 cm, handle 30 cm). When it comes to fierceness, the Miao Dao has no equal. Wielded with one hand or both, combining the characteristics of both saber and spear into one, it is not hard to see why this versatile weapon was unrivalled on the battlefield. The movements of the Miao Dao are fluent yet compact, with the body supplying power to the weapon, while the waist steers the blade in its motions. An attack is always wrapped inside a defensive technique, while a defensive movement immediately transforms into an attack. Its interlinking movements and rapid evading footwork makes the Miao Dao wielder an unpredictable foe. The Miao Dao is truly a great treasure within the Chinese martial arts world and also an invaluable part of Chinese history and culture." – Martello



Although Mohism withered away after the Warring States period, its defensive siege techniques were passed on.

Tools, Equipments, and Machinery

Implements were surprisingly itemized to specific functions. “Thunder stones” were piled on top of the wall, along with piles of heavy stones with a specified weight for each pile. Mozi mentions that if heavy stones were not available, tiles or caltrops could be used as an alternative. Large stones and tiles from the people’s houses were recorded, in case they were needed to be thrown at the enemy. Wood had a broader use than stones. It was essential for heat and lighting, but it could also be used as an incendiary. The wood from district officials and non-essential government buildings would the first to be collected in a siege. Next would be wood collected from common houses. Firewood must be piled neatly facing city roads. Aligning next to the inner wall were trebuchets buried deeply into the ground, each with an iron pivot and iron bands. The pivots were controlled by large cart wheels. For ammunition, each trebuchet came with stones stacked as according to its size. Besides stones, covered earthenware jars of burning charcoal or bags of caltrops were also launched by the throwing machines. Trebuchets were also placed upon the city wall at specified intervals, along with other implements such as shovels, hoes, torches, firewood, long hammers, giant pavises, crossbows, linked flails, halberds, swords, spears, javelins, iron arrows, and movable furnaces. Not all implements were placed with the same specified interval. In general longer weapons were used in open spaces while shorter weapons (as in the case of tunnels) would be used in constrained spaces. In both cases large shields were used. Shields could be used to protect defenders from enemy fire aboveground, but belowground large shields could be

used to temporarily block off enemy tunnelers. The potters of the city would be directed to make earthenware containers for holding sand and small pieces of iron, bound together with rope. Iron containers for holding water also existed alongside them. These were to be heated in the "movable furnace". Once thoroughly heated, they were to be poured upon any enemy scaling the walls in the form of boiling water, molten iron, or scalding sand. Beneath the inner wall were carts used for resupply. Crossbowmen were stationed with a bundle of brushwood and stakes to be used as a barrier, while the most skilled archers were designated on top of towers. The "joined crossbow carriages" were placed alongside the wall as well as on towers. These were powerful ballistae that could only be armed with a windlass. Each had bundles of short and long arrows. The longer arrows had ropes attached to their ends, so that they could be pulled back after being fired. A joined crossbow carriage was operated by 10 men, and any carriage placed on top of the wall would be complemented by a protective screen. Should the enemy have cloud ladders, the defenders were to construct "moving platforms". These platforms must be higher than the city wall itself, fully equipped with giant battering rams and parapets at the top. The battering rams, as long as the platform was high, could be used to knock away enemy siege engines. "Moving parapets" were made to be fired downward to destroy the rams of the enemy. To counter enemy tunneling, geophones were buried into the ground. These could be used to detect the location of enemy tunnels through means of echolocation. Once detected, a system of pipes and bellows could be used to pump poisonous gas or smoke into them. Counter-tunnels could also be dug to hinder the enemy or to meet them in underground close combat. When the walls become scaled by the enemy, "fire-throwers" in the shape of a burning spiked axle were released right before a defender's sally. A system of flags and pennants were provided for each division. These were used for soldiers to communicate with the commander. For example, when the division required many soldiers as reinforcement, the hare flag was raised. In response reinforcements would be sent to their section. When they need crossbows, the dog flag was raised. In response crossbows would be sent to their section. Drums were placed to be used for commanders to signal soldiers, but it could also be used for soldiers to notify commanders. Beacons were used mainly to detect or communicate enemy movement.

When the walls become scaled by the enemy, "fire-throwers" in the shape of a burning spiked axle were released right before a defender's sally.

Human Roles

Every man, woman, or child had their designated roles based on their physicality, experience, and personality. Before a siege, if the city was small in area but large in population, it was preferable to move the elderly and frail to nearby cities or the capital itself. If they were not moved, then they must take part in transporting supplies. Resupply missions were also generally undertaken by children or men falling beneath a standard height requirement. Men and women worked alongside each other in heavier labor, such as the digging of wells. Sons of important houses were liable for defense like those of any other. On top of the wall, women could be seen fighting alongside the men. For every ten adult men six were armed with crossbows and four with a variety of other weapons. The women were uniformly armed with standardized spears. The males and females were dressed differently in order to differentiate the sexes. In addition the military men and officers all have varying insignias. Where the insignia was worn depended on the individual placement and rank. People were also assigned tasks based on their individual qualities. Mozi stressed that positions should be given based on what people were good at and what they liked, but it was doubtful if such optimum situations could be accomplished for everyone. Soldiers who were brave were handpicked as crack troops; to be used in well-timed sallies against the enemy. In certain instances the families of crack troops were held as hostage, perhaps as a means to insure their "bravery". Those with sharp ears were designated to use the geophones. Even the dogs of the city were employed in the purpose of detecting tunnels. Especially strong men were handpicked to operate battering rams on mobile platform walls, to be used for knocking away cloud ladders. Those who were reliable and warlike were chosen to be guards. The most trusted and honorable people were used as scouts, but they were not to know any strategic planning as insurance against the unfortunate circumstance of capture. Scouts were to be sent out of the city under the cover of night. By day they track enemy movements and relay them to the city with a system of flags. The families of scouts must be well treated with meat and wine. This treatment also applies to wealthy or powerful families, but subsections of each powerful family must be held as hostages. Officers must be picked on his honesty, loyalty, dependability, and impartiality. It was the duty of the officer to address complaints toward his own person or between squad-mates. Superiors must have his food and drink tasted by others before consumption. Troops were trained in rotation so that not everyone would be uniformly tired should the enemy decide to attack. Each city must have a Defender and a Director. The Defender was in charge of everything within the city, while the Director was in charge of everything outside the city. Every district must report its heroes, officials, wealthy families, and military advisors. In order to check the people's movement, tallies were used during the day and passwords were used at night. When families willingly contribute resources, a fair price must be repaid in kind and the leader must document the contract. It was the duty of family relatives to bury anyone who died, and it was the duty of the officer to make sure this was done quickly. Families were not to mourn too long while the dead remain unburied. The wounded were sent back to their families, and such families were given wine and meat on a daily basis until the wound had healed. Once a siege was lifted, it was the duty of the Defender to send officers to each family who had members killed or wounded in action. The officers were to offer their condolences and to express sympathy for their plight. It was also the Defender's duty to reward those who had displayed merit in battle or died in action.

Although Mozi preached love and virtue, the bitter reality of war caused him to embrace the harsh Legalist system of Rewards and Punishments. War has a knack for making realists out of the most fervent idealists. One will notice that the last two books of Mohist texts have a very different tone from the other sections. Light punishments such as cleaning the latrines were described, but cruel punishments such as the killing of an entire family solely for the crime of one member was frequently advised. The harshest punishments include the pulling apart by chariots, kinship extermination, and displaying bodies in the marketplace. Contrary to his previous preaching about loving all nations and people equally, the chapters on military techniques show Mozi favoring a nation in harmony on all levels, but harboring deep enmity against the enemy. People were made responsible for the actions of their neighbors. If they failed to report criminal activity of their neighbors, then they too would be implicated. Likewise soldiers on the wall were responsible in protecting those on their left and right. Yet they were also responsible in locating crimes committed by their left and right comrades. The basic unit of the army was a five-man squad, and each squad-member was in some way responsible for the actions of every other squad-member. Officers were responsible for the actions of his squad and Commanders were responsible for the actions of his Officers.

Crimes that warrant latrine cleaning, ear being pierced by an arrow, or the like, includes: Displaying arrogance by blocking roads, having musical instruments or weiqi (a board game) within the army, running on foot without appropriate reason, drinking and eating at inappropriate times, singing or wailing in the army.

Crimes that warrant execution include: Failure to prevent collaborators from escaping, failure to prevent fellow squad-mates from defecting to the enemy, failure to prevent direct subordinates from defecting to the enemy, reducing morale, disobeying orders, abandoning duties in face of the enemy, addressing matters outside of one's responsibility, failing to address matters within one's responsibility, failing to deliver messages within an appropriate amount of time, starting an uncontrolled fire, raping other men's wives or



daughters, failing to stop people without tallies, stealing weapons or implements over 1 cash in value, concealing prohibited items, failing to report a crime despite having full knowledge of it (for officers), letting a perpetrator escape (for officers), intentionally wounding oneself to escape his duties , showering the enemy with untruthful praises, frightening the populace, leaving one's post without permission, condemning superiors without remonstrating with them, unrestrainedly indulge in evil words, using the many and strong to oppress the weak and few, fighting with ordinary people in disregard to laws (for generals and leaders), failing to send appropriate witnesses(knights, soldiers, officers, and people) to hear the oath of command (for supervisors).

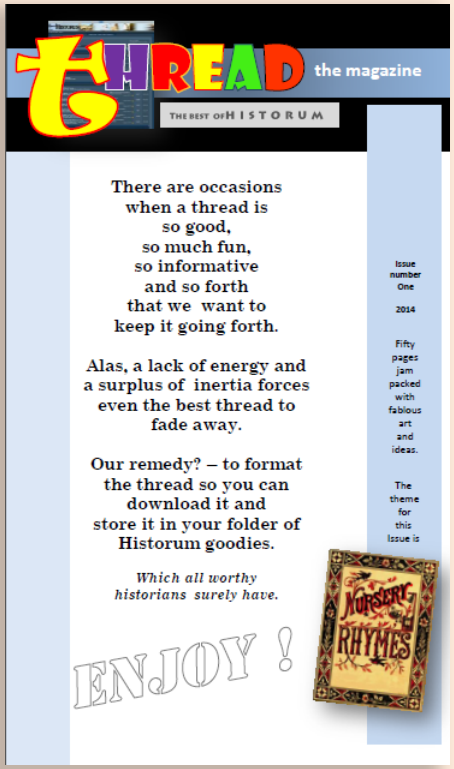
Crimes that warrant kinship extermination, pulling apart by chariots, or both, include: collaborating with the enemy, defection to the enemy, reading letters shot by the enemy, shooting letters towards the enemy, colluding with the enemy, purposely starting an uncontrolled fire.

Actions that warrant rewards (in terms of goods, land, increased salaries, promotion, or honorary titles) include: Catching collaborators, driving enemies from the wall, beating back three advances of the enemy, taking part in defense of walls as a woman (in 5000 cash), taking part in defense of walls as a man(in promotion by rank), winning the siege (in which all inhabitants have a complete tax remittance of three years), seizing or reporting people who plan to rebel, seizing or reporting criminals, dying in battle, becoming wounded in battle, displaying bravery or merit in battle.

Note: I did not mention units of measurement as what we have for present conversions seems to be off, perhaps because measurements during the Warring States were not standardized. Mozi could be using a standard of measurement that is yet unknown to us. At present we usually use Qin's standard of measurement for those of all states, yet during Mozi's time Qin Shihuang's standardization of unit measures did not yet take place. If we rely on current conversions, then the heights of people, buildings, walls, spacing, etc… seem to be unrealistically small, and the same could be said for weights. Some units of measurement used by Mozi have no equivalent for that of the Qin.

Sources:
The Mozi, a Complete Translation by Ian Johnston
Chinese Siege Warfare, by Liang JieMing

END



Check out our sister publication 'Thread the magazine'.

This fun and interesting thread on Nursery Rhymes can be downloaded from here:

http://www.mediafire.com/download/zax147y0x46h700/Thread+Magazine+No.-1.pdf

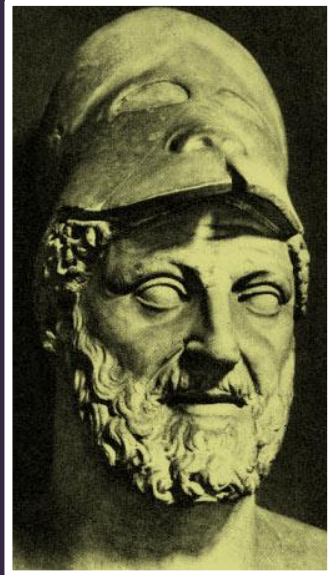
The Lives of Hannibal's Father and Brothers

The First and Second Punic Wars (264-241 BC and 218-202 BC) were colossal engagements fought between two powers, Carthage and Rome, that determined the course of history. From these conflicts, great figures emerged on both sides of the conflict. Hannibal is by far the most famous Carthaginian, renowned for crossing the Alps with elephants, and winning victories such as Cannae during the Second Punic War. Despite his achievements, he ultimately lost, and Carthaginian power waned whereas Roman power soared. However, Hannibal was far from the only Barcid to fight the Romans in the Punic Wars.



What follows are mini biographies on members of his immediate family.

by **markdienekes**



Hamilcar Barca 275-228 BC

In respect of individual courage the Romans were far superior, but the general who must be acknowledged as the greatest on either side, both in daring and in genius, was Hamilcar, surnamed Barca.
(Polybius, 1.64)

Part 1

Birth, Family and Sicily *275 -244 BC*

Hamilcar Barca was born in around 275 BC to a ruling elite family, both rich and socially prominent. The family was said to have descended from a brother of Dido, the exiled princess of Tyre who, according to legend, founded Carthage in 814 BC. His father was called Hannibal, and in traditional custom, would also be the name of Hamilcar's first born son. We do not know if they were related to the other numerous Hamilcars and Hannibals in Punic history.

By the late 250s he had already become a father, and by 238 one of his daughters was already married to a Numidian prince, while a few years later another was married to Hasdrubal, a political ally. It is thought that his wife was expecting a child when he left for Sicily in 247 BC, a child that would be his first born son, Hannibal. To be appointed at a young age in command of Sicily reveals Hamilcar had strong political connections. Aristotle says that in order to attain Punic office, one was chosen because of birth and wealth.

After the Roman naval disaster of the Battle of Drepana in 249 BC, which brought about the lowest ebb for the Romans during the First Punic War (264-241 BC), they once again focused on their land forces. From 255 to 249 BC, Roman losses at sea were staggering: 550 ships and around 200,000 men. Despite Carthaginian success at sea, this victory had been nullified by their impotence on land. They could not break the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepana nor Roman mastery of the countryside.

When Hamilcar Barca was appointed command in Sicily in 247 BC, he was in an unenviable position. He had limited funds due to Carthage's expensive maintenance of the navy, and her efforts of subduing the Numidians and extending their Libyan conquests. He had limited forces and only two surviving strong points in which to face a well supplied Roman force which consisted of two consular armies amounting to some 40,000 Romans and allied troops. The force in which Hamilcar had to work with is thought to have been around 10,000 infantry, and a few hundred cavalry, while the garrisons of Lilybaeum and Drepana also reached about 10,000 men. With such little to work with, he could not directly raise the siege of Drepana, nor mount an attempt to capture Panormus. Large scale battles and campaigns were impossible, and he would have to make do with simply fighting to keep the war effort going, and not lose the war. At best, he could wear them down to make peace.

According to Zonaras, he then tried to recapture an islet just outside the harbour of Drepana, but was drawn off by a Roman attack on the town, which reveals Hamilcar's problems with manpower and may explain his coming strategy.

With Roman naval power extinguished-thanks to bad weather more than Carthaginian naval actions-he began to ravage the southern Italian coast, devastating the territory of Locri and the Brutti. Hiero of Syracuse, Rome's recent ally, made no move to stop them with his own fleet. After his ravaging, which the Romans countered by founding three new colonies and garrisoning them with local troops, Hamilcar crossed to Siciliy and found the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepana had continued, while the Roman consul Buteo had captured the island of Pelias at the mouth of the Drepana harbour and held it firmly. Hamilcar landed on the north coast and took possession of a stronghold near Heircte which Polybius describes as *the best situation to establish a well-protected and permanent camp*. (Polybius, 1.56). The heights of Heircte were most probably the broad mountains five miles west of the city of Panormous, with the fort laying in a pass to the south.

After establishing his base here, Polybius says he left and ravaged the coast of Italy as far north as Cumae at the Bay of Naples before returning to harass the Romans encamped in front of Panormus with a variety of attacks and offensive patrols that lasted three years, involving ambushes, sorties and counter-attacks. Sadly, Polybius does not go into any detail here, but does describe the encounter as a boxing match: *Hamilcar's campaign in Sicily against the Romans might be compared to a boxing match in which two champions, both in perfect training and both distinguished for their courage, meet to fight for a prize.* (Polybius. 1.57). Diodorus adds he attacked Italium, a fort of Catana's near Longon, thought to be the town of Longane held by the Marmertines. Hoyos believes he may have, from time to time, sailed over to the besieged towns on the coast to keep up the defence, and occasionally to Carthage as he had another son in the 240s and it is not plausible that his wife was with him in his mountain camps (Hoyos, p.14).

His sound strategic aims of occupying Heircte were to obstruct Roman forces and supplies moving to the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepana. His position by Panormus had already prevented the Romans from using the coast road while the inland route was mountainous and zigzagging and perfect for ambushes. The alternative route would have been a long detour via Agrigentum and the south coast. Hamilcar hit at ships too, preventing the Romans supplying them from the sea.

It is thought that this guerilla warfare strategy earned him his nickname of Barca, the Punic word for lightning, and one can imagine his swift sorties from sea and land garnering him this name. Sadly, despite all his efforts, the war was still a stalemate. He could not lift the sieges, and the Romans could not take the towns either. In 244 BC however, Hamilcar made an audacious move to capture Mt Eyrx, and the Romans awoke one morning to find Hamilcar's camp at Heircte deserted, his ships gone. He had struck fast at Drepana.


Battle of Drepana

Part Two:
Mt Eyrx & Rome victorious *244 – 241 BC*

Mt Eyrx was said by Polybius to be the second highest mountain in Sicily. Upon the crest stood a famous temple of the goddess known to Phoenicians as Astarte, while a little town below was also named Eyrx. The Romans had captured it in 249 BC, which had marked their only success of that year. Hamilcar sailed at night to a small bay north of the mountain, then led his men towards the town, slaughtered the garrison and seized Eyrx. The captured townsfolk he sent to Drepana. The summit however, had a garrison of Roman troops. If Hamilcar made plans to capture the summit, he failed, as it remained in possession of Rome.

Hamilcar's capture of Eyrx is puzzling, as the advantages he had in Heircte were now lost, but perhaps he deemed Heircte too remote and Drepana too hard pressed. If he could not get replacements for his losses it would lead to a loss of impact of his actions. We hear no more of naval raids and by 242 BC, there were no Carthaginian ships in Sicilian waters. Whatever his reasons for abandoning Heircte, at Mt Eyrx he was now wedged half-way up a mountain, between two enemy garrisons with only one route to the anchorage. It is clear that the Romans on the summit could be supplied and reinforced, while on the plain below a consular army was encamped. Hamilcar's fleet was also recalled from Sicily and no effort was made to replace them which proved costly indeed. However precarious his new position was, Hamilcar would now operate here for the next two years while the wheel of fortune turned in Rome's favour.

From Mt. Eyrx he still managed to give the besiegers plenty of trouble. We hear of a likely attack on a Roman siege-camp from an excerpt of Diodorus in 243-2. He mentions an action by a Punic officer named Vodostor followed up a victory by allowing his men to plunder against the orders of Hamilcar, which led to the Carthaginans suffering heavy losses. Hamilcar managed to save the total loss of his infantry only by the discipline of his 200 horse. Hamilcar sought a truce with the Roman consul C. Fundanius to bury his dead, conceding defeat, a request the consul refused. Fundanius however, was forced to make a similar request shortly afterwards following heavy losses in which Hamilcar accepted by stating *'he was at war with the living, but had come to terms with the dead*' (Hoyos, p.15-16).

There is mention of a certain number of Celts deserting Carthage and plotting the betrayal of the town of Eyrax to the Romans, but the plot was foiled and the Celtic deserters were sent to reinforce the Roman garrison on the summit. This further reduced Hamilcar's shrinking force by about a thousand men.

No Roman consul could match Hamilcar Barca's tactical skills however and it had become apparent that the war could not be won by a military land campaign alone. The Senate decided upon building a new fleet whose goal would be to aid in starving the tenacious Carthaginian towns into submission. This would be difficult with little funds however. Instead of a new levy of taxes on the population, they would loan money from the wealthiest families, to be paid back with the war indemnity. With this money, they raised a new fleet of 200 light and manoeuvrable quinqueremes. In 242, the consul C. Lutatitius Catulus arrived with the fleet on the western coast of Sicily. Apparently this was the first the Carthaginians had heard of the renewed Roman naval effort. If that is so, it really does suggest Carthaginian overseas contact had received a crippling blow. With the fleet, Catalus gained control of the ports of Lilybaeum and Drepana, before pressing the siege at Drepana hard. The Roman fleet had cut off all supplies to Sicily, and the only way to regain it would be to take control of the water.



Mt Eyrx

Mt Eyrx Part 3

The African Revolt up to the Battle of the Macar *240 BC*

With the end of the First Punic War, things seemed to go from bad to worse for Carthage. The end of the war did not herald peace for either the Carthaginians or the Romans – in the gap between the end of the First and the start of the Second Punic War, Carthage saw war against its own mercenaries and Libyan subjects, and war in Spain, while the Romans fought against the Gauls and Illyrians.

With obvious difficulties facing Carthage in regards to paying the mercenaries, a rather clever plan was adopted by Gisco to manage the crisis. Gisco sent them to Carthage in groups over a period of several months, but this was soon discontinued by the republic. Carthage was now too impoverished to pay them, and too inept to fob them off. The 20,000 mercenaries made up of people from all over the western Mediterranean and Libyan conscripts had plenty of grievances, not to mention the fact they were armed and suspicious.

Through a series of disorders in the city of Carthage where the mercenaries had been staying, they were asked to move to Sicca which they accepted, but this soon led to boredom and dissatisfaction free from the constraints of discipline. With this inactivity came the desire to get what they deserved for their years of hard campaigning; arrears of pay, and the high rewards promised them by officers for the difficulties and dangers they had faced. Being responsible for affairs in Africa, Hanno the Great arrived at Sicca unable to pay the mercenaries and only offered them a settlement on greatly reduced terms. This resulted in an explosion of anger and the mercenaries took up arms, which ignited the discontented Libyans to join them. The lands around Carthage and her sister Phoenician colonies of Utica and Hippou Arca erupted in revolt (Hoyos, p.34). The mercenaries then marched on Carthage and set up position at Tunis.

The arrival of this army alarmed the Carthaginians, who immediately set about trying to placate the mercenaries with provisions of every kind being sent to the camp. The Senate itself consented to their demands, which simply increased the mercenaries confidence, who proceeded to ask unreasonable demands of Carthage. The Carthaginians asked them if they were willing to mediate with one of the generals they had fought with in Sicily, but they did not want to mediate with Hamilcar Barca, who some blamed for abandoning them so soon after the defeat, and showed a lack of interest in their fate, but they were willing to talk to Gisco who had handled affairs in Lilybaeum so well.

Sadly, affairs broke down and Gisco was retained by the mercenaries and met a horrible fate, being stoned to death. Hamilcar Barca, being only too aware of their irritation with him, had not shown during the mediations and had avoided such a fate. This may well be due to the mercenaries disposition towards him, but also because his political enemies had launched a prosecution against him; the charge was that of misconduct in his Sicilian command.

Hamilcar's case would have been before the tribunal of 104, and a guilty verdict would have no doubt led to crucifixion or flight into exile. Hamilcar Barca managed to win the support of the leading men however, and the case was dropped. We do not know who his enemies were or who accused him of misconduct but we hear of one rescuer of Hamilcar being Hasdrubal, who would later marry his daughter and become a son-in-law. Hanno is regarded by Hoyos as remaining neutral during the trial (Hoyos, p.36)

Despite his failure to negotiate with the rebels, Hanno the Great still had great repute and was given command to fight the rebels. Though he had success fighting Numidians and taxing Libyans, he met a good deal less success against the veterans. By early 240 BC, he had managed to get himself cut off from Carthage, on the far-side of Utica between the rebels besieging the town and those against Hippou Arca to the north. His army was destroyed, though Hanno managed to escape. Devoid of revenue and without an ally or friend the situation looked hopeless. The Carthaginians decided it was time to appoint a second general, and that man was Hamilcar Barca.

Hamilcar raised an army made up of mercenaries, rebel deserters and citizens that consisted of some 10,000 men with 70 elephants to face an army, according to Polybius, of some 90,000 men. This rebel army was led by two appointed generals called Spendius, a fugitive Roman slave, and Matho, an African, who divided their army between them. Matho mounted attacks on Utica and Hippou Arca, while Spendius set to siege Carthage, cutting the city off and confining the garrison within the city walls.

Hamilcar's decision was to strike without delay, but this was hampered by confinement. To the south was the route to the mainland made up of a range of hills guarded strongly by Matho's troops. He could not move to the north because the swift running river known as the Macar had only one crossing point that was guarded by a force of mercenaries 10,000 strong. His only option was to break out into the open countryside using surprise as a weapon, as his force was too small to face the mercenaries at Macar and on the southern hill passes.

This was the situation facing Hamilcar. He achieved the breakout by noticing a tide and westerly wind revealed a sand bar across the river mouth which enabled it to be forded. When this happened again, he was ready and led his men out of the city gate under the cover of darkness, and managed the crossing by dawn without detection. He then went inland and followed the course of the Macar, his goal to secure the bridge, advancing in extended line northwards across the plain with the elephants in front, followed by the light troops and cavalry, his heavy infantry bringing up the rear (Bagnell, p.116).

Spendius soon found out that Hamilcar had crossed however, and being joined by a further 15,000 men, advanced to meet Hamilcar 25,000 strong. Spendius felt confident of victory and extended his left flank to overlap and encircle Hamilcar's force, but Hamilcar had a trick up his sleeve. The Carthaginians wheeled off to their right flank, turned about and made to withdraw. Believing they were retreating and victory was at hand, the mercenaries rushed forward, only to discover that that was not the case and Hamilcar had in fact executed a great tactical manoeuvre.

Hamilcar had skillfully inverted his dispositions so that his leading troops withdrew only until the heavy infantry had marched forward into the van, and the elephants, cavalry and light troops then turned about to face their front and come into line alongside the heavy infantry. (Bagnell, p.116)

Spendius' left flank was now no longer overlapping the Carthaginian right flank, and the rush had disorganised the advance. They were no longer in a position to fight against the regular ranks of Hamilcar's force. They began to fall back in disorder, and the army was thrown into confusion, which Hamilcar took full advantage of. He set loose his elephants and cavalry, which rode down the enemy without mercy. The mercenaries lost about 6000 men with 2000 taken prisoner, while the rest fled to Utica and Tunis. With this victory, the morale of Hamilcar's army was high, itself a battle-winning factor. According to Bagnell, Hamilcar's battle on the banks of the Macar river '*provides a classic example of imaginative and skillful leadership*' (Bagnell, p.117).

Part 4
The African Revolt *240-237 BC*

Hamilcar's success against Spendius at the Macar allowed him to move inland where he raised the siege of Utica, freeing Hanno and the forces left after his earlier defeat, and assaulted and captured Libyan towns opposed to him while persuading others to submit peacefully. His actions threatened the rebel supply lines and future reinforcements. While Mathos continued his siege of Hippou Arca, he advised Spendius and another instigator of the revolt, a Celt known as Autaritus to harass the enemy, but to remain as best they could from level ground and avoid terrain best suited to elephants and cavalry. They set out with a force 8000 strong from Tunes, having sent ahead messengers to the Libyans and Numidians asking for assistance, much to the delight of Hamilcar, who must have realised the best way to win was to separate the rebel army.

They found Hamilcar on a plain surrounded by mountains and waited for reinforcements, who arrived to bolster their numbers, but Polybius does not say how long it took. Hamilcar was in a dangerous position, outnumbered, with Libyans in their front, Numidians in their rear and Spendius their flank.

Then a fortunate event happened, much to the initial distrust of the Carthaginian general. A Numidian prince called Naravas arrived shortly after the rebel reinforcements with a hundred horsemen, and dismounting and throwing down his weapons, walked unarmed into the Carthaginian camp. He expressed his admiration for Hamilcar and his desire to serve Carthage, in particular, the Barcas. Impressed by the man's courage and in order to gain his further loyalty, Hamilcar swore he would give him his daughter in marriage. With this alliance settled, Naravas left and returned with 2000 horsemen. With his force strengthened by the Numidian cavalry, Hamilcar offered battle, in which Spendius was all too happy to oblige. The battle was a bloody fight, but Hamilcar won, killing, according to Polybius, 10,000 men, and taking four thousand prisoners with the elephants once again wrecking havoc and the Numidians rendering excellent service. Spendius and Autaritus escaped. After the battle, Hamilcar pardoned the prisoners and told them they could go free. He also said they could also join his forces if they so wished. It was a much publicized policy. He warned those that were freed that if they were to fall into Carthaginian hands again, they would be severely punished.





Prince Naravas

While this happened in Africa, a chain of events in Sardinia reached exploding point, and the mercenaries stationed there rebelled and attacked the Carthaginians on the island, executing the commander Bostar and attacking Carthaginian towns. Carthage sent a force over led by an officer named Hanno, but this force quickly deserted and joined the rebels and crucified Hanno. What followed is described by Polybius:

devising the most exquisite torments, they tortured and murdered all the Carthaginians in the island, and when they had got all the towns into their power continued to hold forcible possession of Sardinia, until they quarrelled with the natives, and were driven out by them to Italy. Thus was Sardinia lost to the Carthaginians, an island of great extent, most thickly populated and most fertile. Most authors have described it at length, and I do not think it necessary to repeat statements which no one disputes. (Polybius, 1.79)

Worried by Hamilcar's magnanimity towards prisoners, Spendius and Autaritus devised a scheme to counter the pardon extended by Hamilcar. They spread word that it was a trick merely to disarm them, and once they were thus impotent, Carthage would exact terrible vengeance throughout the subject territories. They also spread the rumour that there were traitors in the army, plotting to free the prisoners they had captured like Gisco, who had yet to meet his horrible fate. The mercenaries suspicion and anger was roused, and they promptly murdered Gisco and a further 100 Carthaginian prisoners. Spendius then declared that this would be how they treated all future prisoners. In response to the rebels, Hamilcar decided to end his policy of leniency to prisoners, and began to execute them using extreme measures:

while those brought to him captive prisoners he threw to the elephants to be trampled to death, as it was clear to him that the rebellion would never be stamped out until the enemy were utterly exterminated. (Polybius, 1.82)

Hamilcar had persuaded Hanno to join his forces, but this resulted in much bickering and possibly began the mutual dislike of each other. They lost many opportunities to attack the rebels due to disagreements, while presenting the rebels with many.

Things were so bad that Carthage ordered one general to remain and one to stay, the choice was given to the army who decided on Hanno retiring, and Hamilcar remaining in charge. Hamilcar was joined by a Carthaginian officer called Hannibal at this time.

Carthage suffered some major setbacks at this time. The fleet that was conveying supplies for their commissariat and other needs from Emporia was destroyed at sea in a storm, but the biggest blow of all was the defection of Hippou Arca and Utica:

their sympathies so suddenly changed, that they exhibited the greatest friendship and loyalty to the rebels, while beginning to show every symptom of passionate and determined hatred of Carthage. After butchering the troops the Carthaginians had sent to assist them, about five hundred in number, together with their commander, they threw all the bodies from the wall, and surrendered the city to the Libyans. They would not even give the Carthaginians the permission they requested to bury their unfortunate compatriots. (Polybius, 1.82)

Mathos and Spendius in the meantime, enthusiastic after these events, undertook the siege of Carthage once more. Hamilcar began to scour the country, intercepting supplies intended for Mathos and Spendius, making great use of Naravas' Numidians.

After a brief dispute between Rome and Carthage involving captured traders coming from Italy to Libya with supplies for the enemy, and diplomatically resolving the situation peacefully, setting even their own Carthaginian prisoners from the First Punic War free, Rome offered Carthage help. They stuck to the treaty engagements, and gave permission to their merchants to export all requirements for Carthage, but not for the enemy while refusing offers to occupy Sardinia and Utica (Polyb. 1.83). With this help, Carthage managed to continue to withstand the rebel siege while Hamilcar went about destroying Spendius and Mathos' supply lines until they were forced to give up the siege.

Spendius and Mathos then took a force fifty thousand strong, which included Zarzas the Libyan and resorted to former tactics, hounding Hamilcar, but staying away from level ground as they were afraid of the elephants and Naravas' horse. Instead, they tried to anticipate Hamilcar's movements, but were worsted in any assaults they tried on his forces:

*Hamilcar, like a good draught-player, by cutting off and surrounding large numbers of the enemy, destroyed them without their resisting, while in the more general battles he would sometimes inflict large loss by enticing them into unsuspected ambuscades and sometimes throw them into panic by appearing when they least expected it by day or by night. All those he captured were thrown to the elephants. (*Polybius, 1.84*)*

This game of cat and mouse finally ended when Hamilcar had taken the enemy force by surprise while encamped against a mountain barrier. Hamilcar went about entirely surrounding them with Carthaginian troops holding the peaks in the rear and entrenchments on the flank and front. According to Polybius, the rebels dared not risk battle, and facing starvation, some took to cannibalism.

Hamilcar was satisfied with starving them into submission and did not attack them. The rebels themselves expected no quarter, and refused surrender, relying on reinforcements promised them from Tunis. With no such arrival, the mercenaries grew frustrated with their leaders, and fearful that they may come to harm, Spendius, Autaritus and Zarzas gave themselves up, and hoped to discuss terms with Hamilcar. A herald was despatched to the Carthaginans, who told them to send ten envoys, which included the rebel leaders. Immediately once they had entered into camp, and thinking they had been betrayed, the rebel army rushed to attack – but weakened through starvation, Hamilcar's force of around 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, and his elephants annihilated them, leaving more than forty thousand rebels dead, and was named the Battle of the Saw. With this victory Hamilcar moved through the country, winning over many Libyan towns, while those that resisted he raised, before marching on Tunis and for Mathos.

When Hamilcar arrived at Tunis, he set up camp to the south, while Hannibal set up camp to the north. Hamilcar then took to intimidation, and took his prisoners, including the rebel leaders, and crucified them in sight of the town before retiring back to camp to await events. Mathos however, did not seek peace terms, but noticed Hannibal had neglected his post. Mathos attacked the northern camp with a sudden foray, and killed many of the Carthaginians, forcing many to flee abandoning the baggage. This was unfortunate timing, as a delegation of prominent Carthaginian citizens had come to Hannibal's camp to investigate the situation and were captured along with Hannibal. They were tortured and executed before being nailed in their place.

Hamilcar raised the siege and withdrew to the mouth of the Macar, while Mathos abandoned Tunis and headed to a town near Leptis Minor eighty miles to the south. Shortly afterwards, Hamilcar was joined by Hanno the Great and thirty senators who managed to convince them both to work together once more, and put behind them their petty squabbles. Hamilcar and Mathos mustered their forces to their full strengths and prepared for a final battle. There is no mention of the details of the battle, but Carthage carried the day and broke the back of the rebels and any effective resistance was over.

Utica and Hippou Arca held out for a while longer, but eventually surrendered. After three years of bitter costly fighting, the Mercenary War was over. Early in 237 BC Africa was once again at peace and Hamilcar Barca received public favour as saviour of the city.



Part 5

Sardinia Seized, Spain and Death *237-228 BC*

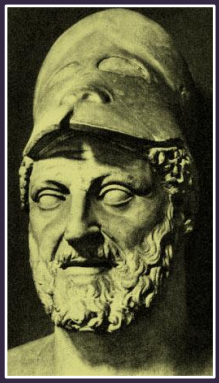
At the close of the war against the mercenaries, the Romans launched an expedition to the island much to the objection of Carthage, who were making plans to punish those rebels who had betrayed them. Carthage was far too weak to oppose Rome at this juncture, and Rome felt that Sardinia posed a threat to her coastal cities and sea communications. Carthage's distress over Roman occupation of Sardinia led to Rome declaring war. Rome rejected any talks of negotiation and Carthage were forced to comply with Roman demands. Sardinia and Corsica were thus given up to the Romans and a further indemnity of 1200 talents was added to the treaty.

Sea trade that had once come to Sicily was now in Roman hands, and their monopoly of trading posts in the Mediterranean had been effectively broken. The war with Rome had also all but destroyed the navy, thus putting many prominent citizens involved with maritime activities out of work. (Bagnell, p.125) In dire times such as these, Hamilcar Barca proposed an expansionist policy overseas, Spain as the target. To recover Carthaginian power they would have to look elsewhere the Romans weren't. Trade was already well established in southern Spain, along with a measure of influence. Spain was a resource rich country, with precious metals in the south and east, silver and copper to the north and north-west. Gold dust could be found in the river Tagus, while the people had a prosperous agriculture. The people of southern and eastern Spain lived in small, well-organised communities centred on fortress towns or villages. Some of the communities were sophisticated with regular chosen officials and councils much like a senate; the foreign colonies like Gades and Iberian cities like Saguntum, but overall, the groupings of tribes lacked military and political cohesiveness and would make easier targets for Hamilcar's expansionist aims.

The elite and common people lent their support to Hamilcar after his efforts had saved the Republic, and as the political leader of Carthage, Hamilcar set in motion his plans. However, according to one Roman historical tradition he did not have the support of the ruling elite, but it is hard to believe this, nor, says Hoyos, should the story about them setting themselves up a Spanish principality or fiefdom virtually independent of the Carthaginian state (Hoyos, p.52). According to Nepos, the spoils of his victories enriched the whole of Africa.

According to tradition, before going to Spain a young Hannibal, then nine years old, was eager to join his father on the enterprise to Spain. Polybius describes it thus:

He said that at the time when his father was about to start with his army on his expedition to Spain, he himself, then nine years of age, was standing by the altar, while Hamilcar was sacrificing to Zeus. When, on the omens being favourable, Hamilcar had poured a libation to the gods and performed all the customary rites, he ordered the others who were attending the sacrifice to withdraw to a slight distance and calling Hannibal to him asked him kindly if he wished to accompany him on the expedition. On his accepting with delight, and, like a boy, even begging to do it besides, his father took him by the hand, led him up to the altar, and bade him lay his hand on the victim and swear never to be the friend of the Romans. (3.11)



The war with Rome had also all but destroyed the navy, thus putting many prominent citizens involved with maritime activities out of work.

Hannibal would go with his father to Spain, and learn the arts of war and diplomacy.

There are two possible ways he could have reached Spain. Bagnell believes Hamilcar was forced to take the land route, following the northern Numidian coast up to the Straits of Gibraltar because the navy had been decimated by the First Punic War. If this is true he would have used what few ships remained to transport the armies food, and the fodder for his elephants and cavalry. However, Hoyos trusts Diodorus' account that he sailed across the African coast to the Straits, then crossed to Gades, stating the land route would have taken far too long and he would have lost most of his first campaigning season. Whatever the case, his army could not have been very large, consisting of some 20,000 troops, 2-3000 of that number being cavalry with a corps of elephants. It would do for the start, and he was certain he could count on the Phoenician colonies to supply his army, and recruit Iberians when the time came.

There are two possible ways he could have reached Spain.

Sadly, there are few events recorded in detail of Hamilcar's nine years spent in Spain. We know his first actions were to the north of Gades, where he confronted a coalition of Iberians and Tartessians and the Celts under Istolatius. The term Tartessus meant people in south-western Spain and Portugal. Sixty miles from Gades were silver and copper mines along the river now called Rio Tinto and Hamilcar's strategy to take these productive mines was a sound one. According to Diodorus, this coalition of tribes and mercenaries were confident facing Hamilcar's force, and that they outnumbered him. Whatever the truth of the matter, Hamilcar met them in battle, and was victorious, the chieftains of the coalition killed in battle. Hamilcar promptly recruited 3000 soldiers of the defeated tribes into his own army.

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With victory, the land from Gades to the Tartessian mines fell under Punic control and shortly afterwards Gades began producing new, high quality silver coins. The Baetis valley stretched over 250 miles from the Atlantic coast to the mountains of south-eastern Spain. It was fertile, contained much wealth with silver mines to the north and east, and was well populated enough to offer tough resistance if the communities refused Punic control. The Baetis valley however, was the focus of his next campaign.



Hamilcar Barca first met an army 50,000 strong led by Indortes, whose resistance drew from the central and eastern districts of the valley, but he did not have to fight such a large army. We are not told how Indortes campaign floundered, but his force was reduced, Hamilcar perhaps enticing them to join his ranks or go home. What forces remained with Indortes took up position on a hill, where Hamilcar surrounded the enemy with trenches. When they tried to break out they were all killed or captured. Indortes himself was taken prisoner and was blinded and tortured and finally crucified as a horrific example to other chieftains should they resist him. To reassure the communities of Spain Hamilcar released 10,000 captives.

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We are not offered a chronology of these events, but Hoyos places them between 236-235 BC. Afterwards, Hamilcar fought further campaigns and had a number of diplomatic successes but we are given no details other than Hamilcar brought many towns and cities under his control. From 235 onwards, Hamilcar's activities spread across the Baetis – his military strength growing while he consolidated the captured land. He used his son-in-law as an able lieutenant, who, when many of the Numidians had risen against Carthage again, Hamilcar sent to take command. Hasdrubal brought them to battle and beat them, killing 8000 and capturing 2000. This success and Hamilcar's in Spain would have continued to reinforce Barcid prestige and popularity at home. On his return home, it is thought he brought Hamilcar's other sons, called Hasdrubal and Mago back with him to Spain to be groomed along with Hannibal in military matters.

During these years of expansion, Hamilcar would have kept a weary eye on Rome, and vice-versa. Dio tells us that in 231 BC the Romans sent over an envoy to Spain who Hamilcar received cordially. Hamilcar told them he was seeking means to pay the indemnity which the Romans did not criticise. Whatever the truth, this would have been the only recorded meeting between the two from 237 to 225 BC.

Hamilcar founded a city called Acra Leuce - White Cape or White Fort – but Diodorus does not state where, but is generally identified as the coastal city the Romans called Lucentum and formed a new power-centre on the eastern side of Carthage's new territory and was possibly treated as a new capital for Punic Spain. Archeological discoveries reveal the towns in Barcid control improved many of their features in both private homes and public structures like walls and sacred shrines. Improved urbanisation could help to make rule more effective winning over more Spanish communities. (Hoyos, p.63)

In late 229 or early 228, Hamilcar moved into the hinterland of Acra Leuce, accompanied by his sons Hannibal and Hasdrubal, while Hasdrubal the Elder commanded elsewhere. This was to be his last campaign.



Coin showing Hasdrubal

He perhaps began in the Spring, and worked his way towards a town called Helice, starving out and storming Segisa, Ilunum and Turbola. When he reached Helice, he put it under siege. He must have been content to starve them into submission as when winter arrived, he sent the bulk of his army to winter-quarters in Arca Leuce to ease his own problems of supply. With his force weakened, Hamilcar was approached by the king of the Orissi, who had a large army with him who pretended friendship with Hamilcar in order to aid the besieged. Hamilcar was caught off guard when they betrayed him, and his army was defeated and put to flight. In order to save his sons, Hamilcar drew off the pursuit. Hannibal and Hasdrubal escaped, but Hamilcar perished as he plunged into a broad flooding river when he was about to be overtaken. Thus, in the winter of 228 BC Hamilcar Barca died at the age of 50 or 51.

Hamilcar was caught off guard when they betrayed him, …

His strategic plan can be reasonably inferred. He was to subdue the hinterland of Arca Leuce, and use Helice as a strong point to advance through the high country towards the eastern reaches of the river Anas... to round off control of the entire river north of the Sierra Morena. (Hoyos, p.69)

This would have given him a great start-off point for further annexations north of Castulo, safeguarding the Punic possessions and especially the silver mines.

His generalship was fairly careless at times where he placed himself in difficult positions like being surrounded by Spendius and Autaritus – saved only by the arrival of Naravas. He made promises to his men which he ultimately did not keep – especially the promises he made to the mercenaries during the First Punic War which may, to a certain extent at least, have escalated some of the problems which led to the Libyan War. He was ruthless when he had to be as evidenced by the treatment of prisoners in both the Libyan War and the chieftain Indortes. He did however, have good leadership attributes, and he performed some talented tactical manoeuvres in battle and had a keen strategic mind. He also had a vision which the Carthaginians of the time desperately needed after their recent setbacks.

He made promises to his men which he ultimately did not keep –

Hamilcar Barca essentially saved the republic and rebuilt its power so that it could compete with the top powers of the day, turning Carthage into an imperialist power and creating a provincial system that would eventually be taken over by the Romans. The mines and tribute revenues from Spain brought Carthage renewed prosperity and fresh opportunities to citizens willing to travel there. Widely regarded as attractive and enigmatic by some, the Romans judged him variously; Cato, put him on par with Pericles, Epaminondas, Themistocles and even the Roman hero Dentatus while others said he was ultimately responsible for Hannibal's war, fostering hatred in his children in order to destroy Rome (Hoyos, p.71).

Hamilcar Barca essentially saved the republic and rebuilt its power

Whatever future he envisaged, he knew Carthage would have to be strong to deter the threat of its potential enemies like Rome. All things considered, these were great achievements for a man who will always live under the shadow of his son.

Hasdrubal Barca - 244 BC to 207 BC

Hasdrubal Barca was one of Hannibal Barca's brothers, about three years younger than Hannibal, thus putting his date of birth around 244 BC. He came across from Africa with his brother-in-law, also called Hasdrubal, at probably around the age of ten or eleven to start training under his father Hamilcar's tutelage in the arts of warfare and leadership. By the end of 229 BC, Hasdrubal Barca was campaigning with his father and elder brother in Spain.

In late 229 or early 228, Hamilcar moved into the hinterland of Acra Leuce, accompanied by his sons Hannibal and Hasdrubal, while Hasdrubal the Elder commanded elsewhere. This was to be Hamilcar's last campaign.

He perhaps began in the Spring, and worked his way towards a town called Helice, starving out and storming Segisa, Ilunum and Turbola. When he reached Helice, he put it under siege. He must have been content to starve them into submission as when winter arrived, he sent the bulk of his army to winter-quarters in Arca Leuce to ease his own problems of supply. With his force weakened, Hamilcar was approached by the king of the Orissi, who had a large army with him who pretended friendship with Hamilcar in order to aid the besieged. Hamilcar was caught off guard when they betrayed him, and his army was defeated and put to flight. In order to save his sons, Hamilcar drew off the pursuit. Hannibal and Hasdrubal escaped, but Hamilcar perished as he plunged into a broad flooding river when he was about to be overtaken.



When Hannibal departed Spain at the outbreak of the Second Punic War, he left it in overall command of his brother, Hasdrubal Barca. The first action as a general we hear of Hasdrubal is in 218 BC, where he hastened to the aid of Hanno, who was attacked and defeated by Gnaeus Scipio who had landed at Emporion (a colony of Marseille and ally of Rome with a force of 25,000 men). Unable to help Hanno, Hasdrubal attacked the crews of Scipio's ships who were milling about the countryside, and then withdrew to Cartagena.

This is the only action we hear Hasdrubal undertaking in 218 BC (Livy reports a second intervention, but has likely misunderstood his sources, as Scipio had already gone into winter quarters at Tarraco by this point). Hasdrubal had failed to prevent the Roman army from overrunning much of the territory north of the Ebro to the Pyrenees.

Hasdrubal's next move took place the following year. Hasdrubal commanded a fleet of 40 quinqueremes and advanced to the Ebro with a Carthaginian army marching the coast alongside. It was a sound strategy intended to destroy the Roman fleet thus severing Scipio's communications with Rome. Hasdrubal could then attempt to crush the Romans on land. The Romans had originally had 60 quinqueremes for the war in Spain, but Polybius reports that he only had 35 ships with him (3.95). One explanation by Lazenby is that they were undermanned. Scipio had realised his land army needed bulking up, and had drafted them into it, and also Hasdrubal's attack the previous year may have been quite devastating to some crews. The Romans however, with the aid of warships from Marseille won and we have a tantalising glimpse of this naval battle from a fragment surviving from Hannibal's Greek historian, Sosylus (Jacoby, FGH 176 F 1):

they all fought outstandingly, but most of all the ships of the Massilians, who were the first to join battle and were wholly responsible for the success of the Romans. In sum, their leaders encouraged the others and made them bolder, while they themselves attacked the enemy with exceptional bravery. The Carthaginians suffered a two-fold defeat, because the Massilians knew their particular style of fighting. If the Carthaginians are facing some ships prow to prow, they advance as if they are going to attack, but instead of attacking immediately, they sail through the enemy line, turn round and ram the enemy's ships from the side.

The Massilians had found out about a tactic which is said to have employed at Artemisium by Heracleides of Mylasa, who was one of the cleverest men of his time. When they drew up their line, they ordered the front ships to face forwards, but to leave other ships waiting behind them at suitable intervals, which as soon as the first ships had been passed could take the opportunity to attack the enemy's ships as they were still advancing, without moving from their original formation. This is what Heracleides did in past times, and as a result he was responsible for the victory. And now, as we said, the Massilians followed the description of this ancient event. As the Carthaginians advanced in the anticipated fashion . . . they fought alongside . . . the Carthaginians turned to flight . . . Book 4 of the Deeds of Hannibal, by Sosylus.



Hasdrubal's force fled to the shore having lost 6 warships in the process.

Hasdrubal's force fled to the shore having lost 6 warships in the process. They were followed by the Romans, who captured a further 19 warships. Hasdrubal had lost half of the Carthaginian Spanish fleet in one battle. Rome would remain unchallenged at sea in Spain for the rest of the war.

Livy goes on to say that Rome followed up this attack by taking a few Spanish towns south of the Ebro, and persuading no less than 120 tribes to join them. Scipio advanced to the pass of Castulo, and Hasdrubal retired to Lusitana by the Atlantic coast. When he moved next, according to Livy, was to aid the Ilergetes who had been fighting punitive forces of Scipio on their territory. Hasdrubal moved to the Ebro, but heard that Scipio's allies, the Celtiberes, had attacked Carthaginian Spain. Hasdrubal apparently hastened to meet them, and was twice defeated by the Celtiberes. However, this whole detailed account by Livy is perhaps unhistorical, as we do not hear of this in Polybius, who stated the Romans did not venture across the Ebro after their naval victory. Polybius says with the news of the naval victory, Rome dispatched his brother, Publius, to Spain with 20 warships. Livy adds 8000 men and supplies.

The brothers advanced to Saguntum with no challenge from Hasdrubal. Through treachery they managed to convince the Carthaginian commander Bostar into releasing hostages, which the Scipio's promptly returned to their homes to garner political support from the Iberian tribes.

In 216 BC, Hasdrubal's problems intensified. Unable to challenge the Romans until he received reinforcements, he was unable to take the offensive due to a serious uprising of the Iberian tribe called the Tartesii, which he crushed in some vicious fighting. After this he received word from the Carthaginian senate that he should advance to Italy and aid his brother there. Hasdrubal's response to this request is recorded by Livy:

Hasdrubal at once sent a despatch to Carthage pointing out what mischief the mere rumour of his departure had caused, and also that if he did really leave Spain it would pass into the hands of the Romans before he crossed the Ebro. He went on to say that not only had he neither a force nor a general to leave in his place, but the Roman generals were men whom he found it difficult to oppose even when his strength was equal to theirs. If, therefore, they were at all anxious to retain Spain they should send a man with a powerful army to succeed him, and even though all went well with his successor he would not find it an easy province to govern. (23.27)

The senate sent a considerable force to Spain under the command of an officer called Himilco, and Hasdrubal set off for Italy in late 216 BC early 215 BC.

Hasdrubal met the Romans at the mouth of the Ebro. Hasdrubal appears to have attempted a Cannae, and placed his Spanish infantry in the centre (without the curve), flanked by Phonei (likely Carthaginian and Phoenician levies from settlements in Spain) and on the right, Africans and mercenaries. On his flanks he set up his cavalry.

Just as at Cannae, the Phonei and Africans and mercenaries wheeled in at the Roman flanks as they chomped through the Spanish centre, but unlike Hannibal's victory, Hasdrubal's centre collapsed and the Romans were able to drive outwards and attacked the Phoeni, Africans and mercenaries. Hasdruba's army was destroyed, but he managed to escape. This was a critical time for the war. Had Hasdrubal managed to win, he would have arrived in Italy to reinforce his brother, along with reinforcements led by Hannibal's other brother, Mago, intended for Italy, which had to be diverted to Spain instead. With things going badly in Italy, this may well have been what Hannibal needed to win the war.

In 215 BC, Livy records further Roman victories in Spain. The first sees another massive Roman victory against Hasdrubal, who had been joined by two other Carthaginian armies led by Mago and Hamilcar son of Bomilcar. Hasdrubal lay siege to the Iberian town of Iliturgi (who had obviously joined Rome by this point). If we are to believe Livy, 16,000 Romans took to the field against Hasdrubal's 60,000 strong army. The Romans won an 'undisputed' victory, killing more than 16,000 Carthaginians, taking 3000 prisoners, capturing 1000 horses and seven elephants (along with killing 5 elephants). Apparently the Romans captured all three camps. The numbers here are ridiculous. He continues to say that Hasdrubal's defeated army made good their losses by recruiting heavily from a friendly province, and attacked Intibili. There was a second engagement against the Romans, who again beat Hasdrubal, killing more than 13,000, taking over 2000 prisoners, and nine elephants. According to Livy, due to these victories, nearly all of Spain allied with Rome (Livy, 23.48).

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Livy records in 214 BC that Hasdrubal and his brother Mago destroyed a large Spanish army before the Romans could cross the Ebro to aid their allies. Publius Scipio continued across the Ebro, and encamped at White Fort (where the Barca's lost their father, Hamilcar years before), though his column was attacked and a few stragglers were killed. Publius moved his camp from White Fort and encamped by Mount Victory, and was joined by his brother, Gnaeus and his army. Hasdrubal received further reinforcements when he was joined by Hasdrubal Gisgo and his 'full' army. The Carthaginians set up position across the river and opposite the Roman camp. Hasdrubal almost managed to kill Publius Scipio as the Roman went out to reconnoitre 'with a party marching light', and had to hold up on a hill as he was surrounded by Carthaginians, being rescued later by his brother Gnaeus (Livy, 24.41).

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Next, we hear from Livy a further attempt on Iliturgi, but Gnaeus came promptly to the town's aid, killing 12,000 Carthaginians in two engagements and taking 1000 prisoners. The town of Bigerra was also being attacked by Carthaginians, but was relieved by Gnaeus Scipio. A further battle ensued at Munda, where the Carthaginians lost 39 elephants (to pikes) 12,000 men and captured 3000. This was followed by another defeat with the Romans pressing their advantage from their previous victory, killing a further 6000 Carthaginians. After these defeats in a matter of days, Hasdrubal sent his brother Mago to raise fresh troops. Mago returned quickly with a force of Celts, but again the Romans defeated the Carthaginians, killing 8000, and capturing nearly 1000. After this victory, the Romans marched to Saguntum and captured the city.

For the next two years there appears little activity in Spain. The Romans did not further their offensive until 213-212 BC according to Livy, but as he asserts that they did nothing for two years, it must have been in 211 BC that the Scipio's made a move south of the Ebro. According to Appian (*History of Spain*, 15) Hasdrubal Barca was recalled to Africa during the years 213-212 BC to deal with a Numidian rebellion led by their king Syphax, who had apparently gone over to the Romans. Upon successfully dealing with the situation, Hasdrubal returned to Spain with fresh reinforcements from Afica. Livy says that the Scipio's had formed an alliance with Syphax before their deaths in 211 BC, and sent him some centurions to help train his soldier's in infantry tactics. He also states that the Carthaginians allied themselves with a Numidian enemy of Syphax, called Gala (Massinissa's father) who helped them beat Syphax (Livy, 24.48).

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Livy records in 214 BC that Hasdrubal and his brother Mago destroyed a large Spanish army before the Romans could cross the Ebro to aid their allies. Publius Scipio continued across the Ebro, and encamped at White Fort (where the Barca's lost their father, Hamilcar years before), though his column was attacked and a few stragglers were killed. Publius moved his camp from White Fort and encamped by Mount Victory, and was joined by his brother, Gnaeus and his army. Hasdrubal received further reinforcements when he was joined by Hasdrubal Gisgo and his 'full' army. The Carthaginians set up position across the river and opposite the Roman camp. Hasdrubal almost managed to kill Publius Scipio as the Roman went out to reconnoitre 'with a party marching light', and had to hold up on a hill as he was surrounded by Carthaginians, being rescued later by his brother Gnaeus (Livy, 24.41).

The Romans won an 'undisputed' victory, killing more than 16,000 Carthaginians, taking 3000 prisoners, capturing 1000 horses and seven elephants (along with killing 5 elephants).

Next, we hear from Livy a further attempt on Iliturgi, but Gnaeus came promptly to the town's aid, killing 12,000 Carthaginians in two engagements and taking 1000 prisoners. The town of Bigerra was also being attacked by Carthaginians, but was relieved by Gnaeus Scipio. A further battle ensued at Munda, where the Carthaginians lost 39 elephants (to pikes) 12,000 men and captured 3000. This was followed by another defeat with the Romans pressing their advantage from their previous victory, killing a further 6000 Carthaginians. After these defeats in a matter of days, Hasdrubal sent his brother Mago to raise fresh troops. Mago returned quickly with a force of Celts, but again the Romans defeated the Carthaginians, killing 8000, and capturing nearly 1000. After this victory, the Romans marched to Saguntum and captured the city.

For the next two years there appears little activity in Spain. The Romans did not further their offensive until 213-212 BC according to Livy, but as he asserts that they did nothing for two years, it must have been in 211 BC that the Scipio's made a move south of the Ebro. According to Appian (*History of Spain*, 15) Hasdrubal Barca was recalled to Africa during the years 213-212 BC to deal with a Numidian rebellion led by their king Syphax, who had apparently gone over to the Romans. Upon successfully dealing with the situation, Hasdrubal returned to Spain with fresh reinforcements from Afica. Livy says that the Scipio's had formed an alliance with Syphax before their deaths in 211 BC, and sent him some centurions to help train his soldier's in infantry tactics. He also states that the Carthaginians allied themselves with a Numidian enemy of Syphax, called Gala (Massinissa's father) who helped them beat Syphax (Livy, 24.48).

For the next two years there appears little activity in Spain.

In only what can be described as a gross strategic error, and possibly one that lost Spain for Carthage, New Carthage was left vulnerable to attack. Why Hasdrubal Barca or no Carthaginian army was within easy reach of the most important city for their interests in Spain can not be known, or why the city was poorly garrisoned with 1000 men. Perhaps Hasdrubal Barca, whom Hannibal had left in overall command, had lost control of his younger brother Mago, and Gisgo, who appear to have now been operating separately if we are to believe Scipio's letter? Perhaps they couldn't believe capturing New Carthage could be done, as it was in a solid defensive position? Either way, Scipio boldly attacked in 209 BC, and with inside knowledge, a land and naval attack, succeeded in capturing the city. Livy presents us with a detailed description of the result of captured people, and materials, which had a huge impact on the ability of Hasdrubal Barca to maintain the war in Spain:

… a gross strategic error …

As many as 10,000 freemen were made prisoners. Those who were citizens were set free and Scipio gave them back their city and all the property which the war had left them. There were some 2000 artisans; these Scipio allotted to the public service, and held out to them hopes of recovering their liberty if they did their best in the tasks which the war demanded. The rest of the able-bodied population and the sturdiest of the slaves he assigned to the fleet to make up the complement of rowers. He also augmented his fleet by five vessels which he had seized. Besides all this population there were the Spanish hostages; these he treated with as much consideration as though they had been children of the allies of Rome. An enormous amount of munitions of war was also secured; 120 catapults of the largest size and 281 smaller ones, 23 of the heavier ballistae and 52 lighter ones, together with an immense number of scorpions of various calibre, as well as missiles and other arms. 73 military standards were also captured. A vast quantity of gold and silver was brought to the general, including 287 golden bowls, almost all of which were at least a pound in weight, 18,300 pounds of silver plate and coinage, the former comprising a large number of vessels. This was all weighed and counted and then made over to the quaestor C. Flaminius, as were also 10,000 bushels of wheat and 270 pecks of barley. In the harbour 63 transports were captured, some of them with their cargoes of corn and arms, as well as bronze, iron, sails, esparto grass, and other articles required for the fleet. Amidst such an enormous supply of military and naval stores, the actual city itself was regarded as the least important capture of all. (Livy, 26.47)

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The next we hear of Hasdrubal Barca, it is 209/208, and it is more bad news. Two supposedly staunch allies of Carthage and powerful Spanish chieftains Andobales and Mandonius abandoned Hasdrubal's camp. Apparently, according to Polybius, they disliked the arrogance of the Carthaginians and were dissatisfied with their treatment by Hasdrubal, who had at some point demanded a large sum of money and that they hand over their wives and daughters as hostages (10.35). Aware of the increasing negative disposition of Carthage's Iberian allies, Hasdrubal Barca decided it was time to bring the Romans to battle. Hasdrubal's decision is told by Polybius:

Surrounded by such difficulties Hasdrubal was agitated by many conflicting emotions and anxieties. He was vexed by the desertion of Andobales; vexed by the opposition and feud between himself and the other commanders; and greatly alarmed as to the arrival of Scipio, expecting that he would immediately bring his forces to attack him. Perceiving therefore that he was being abandoned by the Iberians, and that they were joining the Romans with one accord, he decided upon the following plan of action. He resolved that he must collect the best force he could, and give the enemy battle: if fortune declared in his favour he could then consider his next step in safety, but if the battle turned out unfavourably for him, he would retreat with those that survived into Gaul; and collecting from that country as many of the natives as he could, would go to Italy, and take his share in the same fortune as his brother Hannibal. (10.37)

In the Spring of 208 BC, Hasdrubal Barca had moved to a town called Baecula, strategically blocking Scipio's advance to the Baetis Valley. Upon Scipio's arrival, and after a brief skirmish between his cavalry and Scipio's advance of light troops, Hasdrubal withdrew to a strong defensive position with a flat-topped hill with steep front and sides protected by a river at the rear. Hasdrubal was probably tempting Scipio to attack while he awaited for Mago and Gisgo's armies to arrive and whom were marching towards his position. The Battle of Baecula is another rare battle where we do actually have the tactical dispositions of Hasdrubal's army compared to Livy's sketchy years of battles and defeats between 217-212 BC.

Hasdrubal set up his Numidian cavalry and light armed Balearic and African troops on a slope surrounded by a wall-like rim in the front (Livy, 27.18), which Scipio attacked first with his skirmishers and a picked infantry force. Hasdrubal waited to see the outcome of the fight, and when his men became hard-pressed, he ordered forward his main forces to occupy the height above the slope to support his men, which was what Scipio had been hoping for. Scipio reinforced his attackers with the rest of his skirmishers, then quickly moved around the hill to the right while he order Laelius to move around the hill to the left. When Scipio attacked Hasdrubal's flanks, Hasdrubal had not yet deployed his whole force and had realised he had been out manoeuvred. With haste, Hasdrubal withdrew, sacrificing his light troops as he moved away with the treasury, elephants, and perhaps up to two-thirds of his army. According to Livy he lost 8000 men. Hasdrubal had lost, but he had not lost his whole army. He now marched towards the Tagus River. Livy records a meeting between Hasdrubal and his fellow generals to discuss what the next move should be. It was decided to continue on to Italy to meet up with his brother:

A council of war was then held. Some of those present urged the immediate pursuit of Hasdrubal, but Scipio thought it hazardous in case Mago and the other Hasdrubal should join forces with him. He contented himself with sending a division to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, and spent the remainder of the summer in receiving the submission of the Spanish tribes. A few days after the battle of Baecula, when Scipio had descended from the pass of Castulo on his return to Tarraco, the two Carthaginian generals, Hasdrubal Gisgo and Mago, came from Further Spain to join forces with Hasdrubal. They were too late to prevent his defeat, but their arrival was very timely in enabling them to concert measures for the prosecution of the war. When they came to compare notes as to the feeling in the different provinces, Hasdrubal Gisgo considered that as the distant coast of Spain between Gades and the ocean still knew nothing of the Romans, it was so far faithful to Carthage. The other Hasdrubal and Mago were agreed as to the influence which Scipio's generous treatment had had upon the feelings of all states and individuals alike, and they were convinced that the desertions could not be checked until all the Spanish soldiery had either been removed to the furthest corners of Spain or transported into Gaul. They decided therefore, without waiting for the sanction of the senate, that Hasdrubal must proceed to Italy, the focus of the war where the decisive conflict would be fought. In this way he would remove all the Spanish soldiers out of Spain far beyond the spell of Scipio's name. (Livy, 27.20)

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Hasdrubal spent the rest of 208 BC in preparation for an invasion of Italy, and joining up with Hannibal. Marseille discovered his whereabouts in France when he arrived and sent word to Rome, along with Roman agents who passed on that Hasdrubal intended to cross the Alps in the spring. The Roman consul Salinator was given command of a consular army to face him, made up of two legions and their respective Roman allies, while they sent the other consul, Nero to face Hannibal with a further consular army. Further armies similar in size to the armies of the consuls were spread out across the Italian peninsular; one under the command of Terrentius Varro was in Etruria, another led by L. Porcius Licinus was positioned in *ager gallicus*. In the south of Italy, Q Fulvius Flaccus commanded two legions in Bruttium, Q. Claudius Flamen two legions in the region of Tarentum, and C. Hostilius Tubulus one legion at Capua. This is now what Hannibal and Hasdrubal would have face in Italy alone and along with the two freshly raised *legions urbane*, in all that year Rome had 23 legions in the field spread out across the various theatres of war! (Lazenby, p.181)

Hasdrubal set out of winter quarters having conscripted into his army 8000 Ligurians who would meet him when he arrived in Italy, forcing the consuls who had heard of this move to complete their levy quickly and leave for their provinces. Livy describes Hasdrubal's march through the Alps as rapid, that the Gallic, Averni and Aline tribes not only allowed him to cross their borders, but joined forces with him. Hannibal had helped Hasdrubal by rendering the route practical, and Hasdrubal emerged into Cisalpine Gaul much earlier than expected, and with his army intact and healthy. Livy, however goes on to say that Hasdrubal squandered what he gained by speed by laying siege to Placentia. There may well be a practical reason for this, and that Hasdrubal had hoped to attract more Gauls into his army my the attack of Placentia, and to give sufficient time for forage for his army, particularly for the cavalry.

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Hasdrubal did not have many options available to him for movement from Cisapline Gaul: one through the Appenines leading to Etruria was blocked by Varro, while if he marched southeastwards that led to Ariminium and the coastal route south was blocked by Licinus. When he did decide to head for his brother, Hasdrubal moved eastwards towards the coastal route, sending out four Celts and two Numidian horsemen carrying letters for Hannibal, the letters saying they would meet up in Umbria. Perhaps this was an attempt to make the Romans believe he was going to cross the Appenines, and thus draw them away from his intended southern coastal route, otherwise it was quite naïve, and brings to question why he didn't tell the messengers verbally instead. However, whatever his intention, the Romans saw that he did not intend to cross the Appenine route, and thus two Roman armies (Salinator's and Porcius') converged and blocked Hasdrubal's march.

Meanwhile Hannibal was moving through Bruttium advancing towards Apulia, probably surprised by the speed of Hasdrubal's march through the Alps, Hannibal broke winter quarters quite late. His march was dogged by Nero and was he was forced into running fights as he moved. One of Hasdrubal's messengers, and thus, the letter fell into the Romans hands, and Nero handpicked 6000 of his best infantry, and 1000 cavalry and slipped away from his camp with Hannibal none-the-wiser, to join up with Salinator's force against Hasdrubal, sending messengers ahead to Salinator to tell him of his coming, and how best to join up forces.

Nero joined up with Salinator secretly and at night after a swift march, and slipped into the camp, his men sharing the tents of Salinator's army to not reveal new tents, as Hasdrubal's camp was quite close (about seven hundred metres away) and the precaution was thought of as necessary. They deployed for battle the next day, and Hasdrubal accepted the challenge, which leads me to believe that the forces were probably even. Hasdrubal wasn't to be fooled however, as Livy tells us:

Hasdrubal had ridden to the front with a handful of cavalry, when he noticed in the hostile ranks some well-worn shields which he had not seen before, and some unusually lean horses; the numbers, too, seemed greater than usual. Suspecting the truth he hastily withdrew his troops into camp and sent men down to the river from which the Romans obtained water, to catch if they could some of the watering parties and see whether they were especially sunburnt, as is generally the case after a long march. He ordered, at the same time, mounted patrols to ride round the consul's camp and observe whether the lines had been extended in any direction and to notice at the same time whether the bugle-call was sounded once or twice in the camp. They reported that both the camps-M. Livius' camp and that of L. Porcius-were just as they had been, no addition had been made, and this misled him. But they also informed him that the bugle-call was sounded once in the praetor's camp and twice in the consul's, and this perturbed the veteran commander, familiar as he was with the habits of the Romans. He concluded that both the consuls were there and was anxiously wondering how the one consul had got away from Hannibal. Least of all could he suspect what had actually occurred, namely that Hannibal had been so completely outwitted that he did not know the whereabouts of the commander and the army whose camp had been so close to his own. As his brother had not ventured to follow the consul, he felt quite certain that he had sustained a serious defeat, and he felt the gravest apprehensions lest he should have come too late to save a desperate situation, and lest the Romans should enjoy the same good fortune in Italy which they had met with in Spain. Then again he was convinced that his letter had never reached Hannibal, but had been intercepted by the consul who then hastened to crush him. Amidst these gloomy forebodings he ordered the camp fires to be extinguished, and gave the signal at the first watch for all the baggage to be collected in silence. The army then left the camp. In the hurry and confusion of the night march the guides, who had not been kept under very close observation, slipped away; one hid himself in a place selected beforehand, the other swam across the Metaurus at a spot well known to him. The column deprived of its guides marched on aimlessly across country, and many, worn out by sleeplessness flung themselves down to rest, those who remained with the standards becoming fewer and fewer. Until daylight showed him his route, Hasdrubal ordered the head of the column to advance cautiously, but finding that owing to the bends and turns of the river he had made little progress, he made arrangements for crossing it as soon as daybreak should show him a convenient place. But he was unable to find one, for the further he marched from the sea, the higher were the banks which confined the stream, and by thus wasting the day he gave his enemy time to follow him. (Livy, 27.47)

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The night march was a disastrous attempt. Hasdrubal's army began to split up and blundered through the dark, and soon found himself being attacked by the Roman cavalry and skirmishers as light broke. Hasdrubal, in face of these attacks and in command of a ragged army that had lost men throughout the night march, tried to set up camp on a hill overlooking the river, but with the arrival of the main Roman host led by Salinator, set up for battle instead. Hasdrubal set up the Celts on the hill on his left, massed his Spaniards on the right, with the elephant corp in front of their right wing. This setup makes it apparent that he wanted to smash the Roman left while the Roman right struggled against his Celts setup on the hill. The struggle was even until Nero with a touch of inspired military genius, withdrew some of his men from the rear ranks of the right wing and marched them to the left wing, falling upon the elephants and Spaniards on the flank and rear. His Spaniards and elephants were annihilated, and Polybius says that Hasdrubal, having done all that a good general should, charged into the thick of the fight and perished. Hasdrubal's severed head would later be flung into an outpost of Hannibal's.



Mago Barca 240/39 BC - 203 BC

Hannibal's youngest brother, Mago, was born in 239-240 BC, and arrived in Spain at the age of thirteen. He probably accompanied Hannibal in his early Spanish campaigns between 221-219 BC, before setting off with his brother for the invasion of Italy in 218 BC.

Mago took part in Hannibal's early victories at the Ticinus, Victumulae, Trebia, Lake Trasimene and Cannae, and it was only after Cannae that we get to see Mago in command of his own armies. First, I shall look at his actions in Hannibal's victories, as it does present a picture of a competent tactical commander using both infantry and cavalry. The first time he is mentioned by our principle source Polybius is during the winter of 218 BC, and just before Hannibal's first major conflict with the Roman army at the Battle of the Trebia. Livy gives us a little detail of actions beforehand, where Mago is the first to cross the river Po with a force of Spanish cavalry, proceeding towards Placentia ahead of the main body of Hannibal's army towards the enemy, no doubt to reconnoiter (Livy, 21.47). Polybius tells us that Mago was 'full of youthful enthusiasm, and had been trained from boyhood in the art of war' (3.71).

Mago was given an important task by his brother at Trebia, and during the night before the battle, he set out with 1000 handpicked infantry and 1000 cavalry with the task to conceal himself within a watercourse between the two camps, which had steep banks overgrown with brambles. Polybius tells us it was a perfect place for an ambush:

the place was admirably adapted for putting them off their guard; because the Romans were always suspicious of woods, from the fact of the Celts invariably choosing such places for their ambuscades, but felt no fear at all of places that were level and without trees... (3.71)

Mago successfully concealed his force during the night and awaited the time to strike. The next day Hannibal successfully lured the Roman army from it's camp with his Numidian cavalry, who feigned a retreat drawing out the Romans across a cold river (and without breakfast) to the ground of Hannibal's choosing. The Roman army, led by T. Sempronius Longus, consisted of 16-18,000 Roman infantry, 20,000 allied Latin infantry, 4000 cavalry, and a contingent of Celts from the Cenomani. As the armies lined up and the infantry lines closed and locked in combat, Mago attacked. His timing was perfect, and the charge into the rear of the Roman lines threw the whole Roman army into confusion (Polybius, 3.74). By the end of the battle, most of the Roman army had been destroyed, save some 10,000 Romans who had managed to cut through Hannibal's lines and fled towards Placentia.

The following year, Hannibal broke winter quarters sometime around May 217 BC, and began his march further into Italy. Hannibal probably crossed the Appenines through the Porretta Pass towards Etruria, and we hear again of Mago in command of cavalry protecting the rear of Hannibal's column as they marched through the Arno marshes. Mago's job was also to deter any Celts from fleeing Hannibal's army (Polybius, 3.79, Livy, 22.2). Sadly, this is all we hear from Mago for that year in our principle sources of Polybius and Livy – his actions at Lake Trasimene are not recorded, but he was there somewhere, perhaps in charge of some of the Spanish cavalry he appears to have commanded often to this point under the overall command of Maharbal, which blocked the Roman armies escape to the rear and pressed the attack, or maybe he was among the infantry with Hannibal as he would aid command in the centre with his brother at Cannae the following year? Either way, Mago would have helped in the victory that saw the destruction of another Roman army (unless of course, he had some sort of illness or wound that kept him from the battle!)

The year 216 BC saw Hannibal's greatest victory. With his own supplies dwindling, he captured the valuable supplies depot for the Roman army at Cannae. It would lead to the destruction as an army of the largest Roman force put into the field at that point, which was reportedly around 87,000 strong. A force this size was meant for one thing;to confront and overwhelm Hannibal by force, a change of strategy from Fabius' which was designed to cut off Hannibal's army from supplies, thus destroying it in a slow, but inevitable manner. Hannibal's own army consisted of 40,000 infantry, and 10,000 cavalry.

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Mago played an important part in the victory, aiding his brother in commanding the weakest point of the Carthaginian battle line, a crescent-shaped thin line, and a most vital one needed to trap the Romans. Mago found himself in command (along with his brother Hannibal) of Spanish and Celtic infantry, drawing them back in an organised and planned retreat thus encouraging the Romans into a trap. The African infantry had been placed on the flanks of this curved line, and as the Roman centre pushed the tip of the curve back, Hannibal and Mago encouraged the troops not to break and the Africans moved into action. The African infantry attacked the flanks of the Roman army, halting it as the Romans turned to face battle from an unexpected direction. With their momentum stopped, Mago would have had time to reorganise his men to attack again. The Roman rear was then attacked by Hannibal's heavy Spanish and Celtic cavalry led by a Carthaginian officer called Hasdrubal. The enemy was surrounded, the fight long and bloody, supposedly the bloodiest battle in all of European history, and modern estimates place the casualties at over 50,000 men including both armies. Whatever the true figures, Cannae was a devastating defeat for the Romans.

Next we have to follow Livy as Polybius' work here is lost, and we get to see Mago as a general in command of his own army. After the victory and looting of the Roman camps at Cannae, Hannibal set off for Apulia, invited to the territory of the Hirpini in Samnium by Statius Trebius who put into Hannibal's hands the town of Compsa. Mago was given orders by Hannibal to take over the towns of that part of Italy as they seceded from Rome, and to use force with those who resisted (Livy 23.1). Sadly, we are not informed of his activities here further in detail, though we do know other towns in Samnium joined the Carthaginian course at this point, though whether willingly or through force is not reported. He is next reported having been sent back to Carthage and delivering a speech to the *adirim* (the Carthaginian senate) in which he urges them to support the war in Italy. The senate agrees and a force of 4000 cavalry, forty elephants and a large sum of money are sent to Italy (these reinforcements are the only ones recorded that ever reached Hannibal from Carthage). Mago then left for Spain to enlist a force of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

Events in Spain thwarted Hannibal's hopes of reinforcement when Hasdrubal Barca was defeated in 215 BC by the Scipios at the mouth of the Ebro river. Mago was preparing an army of 12,000 foot, 1,500 horse, twenty elephants and 1000 talents of silver and an escort of sixty warships which were to invade Italy from Carthage, but due to his brother's defeat, Mago's army was diverted back to Spain (Livy, 23.32). Another army of similar size was sent on to invade Sardinia, and we can assume that had Mago successfully raised the 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry as reported earlier, some of these perhaps made up Hasdrubal's (not Hannibal's brother!) force that was sent there.

For Mago's recorded actions from 215 BC to 211 BC, see Hasdrubal Barca's section above.

With the destruction of the brothers Scipios armies in Spain in 211 BC, the Roman armies retreated north of the Ebro, with one Lucius Marcius being unanimously elected by the remnants of the armies to take over as general until reinforcements from Rome arrived (Livy, 25.37). Marcius would go on to win some rather romantic and likely exaggerated victories against the Carthaginians, preventing them from making headway north of the Ebro to link up with Hannibal in Italy. Marcius supposedly inflicted heavy casualties on Hasdrubal Gisgo's army in a sudden sortie from his camp, followed up by burning the two camps of the Carthaginian commanders (Gisgo and Mago), stating Carthaginian losses at 37,000 men, 1830 prisoners. According to Valerius Antias, it was only Mago's camp which was captured with the loss of 7000 men, while Gisgo was beaten in battle shortly afterwards with a loss of 10,000 killed, 4330 captured, whilst the most plausible record of Piso holds that only 5000 men died from Mago's force as he was ambushed conducting a disorderly pursuit of the Romans as they withdrew (Livy, 25.39). Whatever the truth of these engagements, Marcius successfully held off the Carthaginians, and that named in his honour, a piece of armour, called the Marcian shield hung from the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol until the fire in 83 BC.

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Next we hear of Mago is after Publius Cornelius Scipio had landed at Emporion and had marched to winter quarters at Tarraco sometime in the year 210/209 BC. In Scipio's plans over the winter, he discovered the three Carthaginian armies were separated and quarrelling across the peninsular, so Polybius reports at 10.7, in which we learn Mago '*was occupying an area east of the Pillars of Hercules in the country of the tribe known as the Conii*' in southern Portugal. However, Lazenby (Hannibal's War, p.134) notes two possibilities here; that these people are thought to have lived in the extreme south of what is now Portugal, so they couldn't have been east of the Pillars, and suggests a copyists error, the other is that Polybius' Conii (Konioi in Greek) were the same as Appian's Kouneoi who lived near the lower Baetis (History of Spain, 57-8). As soon as it was possible to begin campaigning in 209 BC, Scipio made for the poorly defended and strategic location of the New Carthage, successfully capturing it and robbing the Carthaginians of vital war supplies and hostages.

A year later, and after another Roman success over Hasdrubal Barca at the Battle of Baecula, and Mago had failed to link up with his brother against Scipio, Mago marched his army to the Pyrenees where Hasdrubal had gone after his defeat, and so too did Hasdrubal Gisgo to consider the next step. It was decided that Hasdrubal Barca should march on to Italy to support Hannibal. Mago was to hand over his army to his brother, then recruit more men from the Balearic Islands and Hasdrubal Gisgo continued somewhere in Lusitania, with the aid of a replacement general for Hasdrubal, being an officer called Hanno (27.20, 28.1.) according to Livy. With all three armies to the north of Spain, leaving the rest of their territories undefended, this meeting seems suspicious to me, as this could have been decided beforehand, or by messengers. Also, Livy seems to have forgotten his mention of Mago being sent to the Balearic Islands, as he is back in Spain when next we hear him, apparently recruiting heavily from the Celtiberi with the new general, Hanno. This heavy recruitment caught the eye of the Romans, and Scipio quickly dispatched a force of 10,000 foot and 500 horse led by M. Iunius Silanius, who '*marched with the greatest of speed*' and managed to arrive within ten miles of the enemy, '*outstripping even a rumour of his approach*'. This is Livy's account of the following engagement:

When he was about ten miles distant he was informed by his guides that there were two camps near the road on which he was marching; the one on the left was occupied by the Celtiberians, a newly raised army about 9000 strong, the one on the right by the Carthaginians. The latter was carefully guarded by outposts, pickets and all the usual precautions against surprise; the Celtiberian camp was without any discipline, and all precautions were neglected as might be expected of barbarians and raw levies who felt all the less fear because they were in their own country. Silanus decided to attack that one first, and kept his men as much to the left as possible, so as not to be seen by the Carthaginian outposts. After sending on his scouts he advanced rapidly against the enemy.

With all three armies to the north of Spain, leaving the rest of their territories undefended, this meeting seems suspicious to me, as this could have been decided beforehand, or by messengers.

He was now about three miles away and none of the enemy had yet noticed his advance, the rocks and thickets which covered the whole of this hilly district concealed his movements. Before making his final advance, he ordered his men to halt in a valley where they were effectually hidden and take food. The scouting parties resumed and confirmed the statements of the deserters, on which the Romans, after placing the baggage in the centre and arming themselves for the combat, advanced in order of battle. The enemy caught sight of these when they were a mile distant and hurriedly prepared to meet them. As soon as Mago heard the shouting and confusion he galloped across from his camp to take command. There were in the Celtiberian army 4000 men with shields and 200 cavalry, making up a regular legion. These were his main strength and he stationed them in the front; the rest who were lightly armed he posted in reserve. In this formation he led them out of the camp, but they had hardly crossed the rampart when the Romans hurled their javelins at them. The Spaniards stooped to avoid them, and then sprang up to discharge their own, which the Romans who were in their usual close order received on their overlapping shields; then they closed up foot to foot and fought with their swords. The Celtiberians, accustomed to rapid evolutions, found their agility useless on the broken ground, but the Romans, who were used to stationary fighting, found no inconvenience from it beyond the fact that their ranks were sometimes broken when moving through narrow places or patches of brushwood. Then they had to fight singly or in pairs, as if they were fighting duels.

These very obstacles, however, by impeding the enemy's flight, gave them up, as though bound hand and foot, to the sword. Almost all the heavy infantry of the Celtiberians had fallen when the Carthaginian light infantry, who had now come from the other camp, shared their fate. Not more than 2000 infantry escaped; the cavalry, which had hardly taken any part in the battle, together with Mago also got away. The other general, Hanno, was taken prisoner, together with those who were the last to appear in the field when the battle was already lost. Mago, with almost the whole of his cavalry and his veteran infantry, joined Hasdrubal at Gades ten days after the battle. (Livy, 28.1-2)

The Spaniards stooped to avoid them, and then sprang up to discharge their own…

Mago's recently recruited Celtiberian forces soon scattered into the surrounding woods and made their way home. With the loss of the recent raised forces, it was difficult for the Carthaginians to conduct any major campaign against Scipio. No doubt they had received news of the war in Italy, and that Hasdrubal Barca had been killed at the Metarus. The war in Italy was probably thought as lost. Instead, throughout 207 BC, the Carthaginian commanders in Spain tried to simply maintain the war. Hasdrubal Gisgo split up his army to protect the various walled towns in southern Baetica. Regardless of this strategy, something changed in 206 BC. Perhaps they thought there was an imminent invasion of Africa planned based on Roman naval activities off the coast of Africa between 208-207 BC which involved the defeat of two Carthaginian fleets by Valerius Laevinus, and prolonging the war in Spain was no longer an option. A decisive action would have to take place, and if they could break Roman power in Spain, perhaps Hannibal could get his much needed reinforcements.

Hasdrubal and Mago raised a large army for 206 BC. Polybius estimates the number at 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, while Livy gives a figure of 50,000 foot and 4500 horse. Whatever the figures, Scipio was likely outnumbered – his force amounted to 45,000 infantry, and 3000 horse. In Spring 206 BC, Hasdrubal moved his army to Ilipa, while Scipio advanced to Castulo, sending out Silanus to collect promised troops from Spanish allies. Once Scipio received his Spanish contingent, he continued his advance towards the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians set up camp on a hill, and as Scipio did so on another, Mago led a cavalry attack with Masinissa against Scipio's forces, but was ambushed by Scipio's own cavalry he had hid behind a hill just in this event and Mago had to withdraw with some losses. After a few days of skirmishing and routine setup of the armies, Scipio attacked. The Carthaginian army was exhausted, having not eaten food on that particular day, and – with only half of it engaged (Scipio held back his own Spanish force) – and only the Carthaginian Spaniards against Scipio's Roman infantry, cavalry and skirmishers fought, the bulk of the Carthaginian army retreated back to camp unharmed, while the damaged Spanish flanks also managed to retreat accordingly, they escaped due to bad weather - perhaps a convenient Roman fiction to explain why Scipio failed to tie them down and destroy them on the field of battle - if true, the Carthaginians may likely of had a lucky escape. Over the night many soldiers deserted the army, and deeming it useless to attempt to defend the camp, Hasdrubal called a retreat the following evening. Scipio went in pursuit of the Carthaginian army and harassed them with his cavalry and skirmishers, eventually forcing them to fight a second battle and defeated them again. Some 6000 Carthaginians escaped and put up further stout resistance, but Hasdrubal, and some Carthaginian officers managed to escape by sea, abandoning their men on the hillock. Mago appears to have stayed with them as long as he could, but he too left the majority to their fate when Hasdrubal managed to get ships back to him. Mago escaped to the coast then sailed for Gades. Sadly, for these battles we have no indication for Mago's actions other than the cavalry attack, so it is almost impossible to consider his command here, other than the fact that his side lost.

The Carthaginian army was exhausted, having not eaten food on that particular day …

This defeat broke Carthaginian power in Spain forever. Mago established himself at Gades and began recruiting a new force from what was left of Carthage's Spanish allies, and a force arrived from Africa led by an officer called Hanno. Scipio too was not one to rest on his laurels, and began to subdue the neighbouring cities, taking Castulo before marching back to New Carthage, leaving Marcius to continue operations in the area, who brought over a number of communities before he too retired back to New Carthage. Deserters from Gades came over to New Carthage and offered to betray Gades to Scipio, and Scipio decided to accept this offer. He sent Marcius by land with a force of infantry, while Laelius was to act in concert with him with a small fleet of seven triremes, and one quinquereme.

This defeat broke Carthaginian power in Spain forever.

Mago had sent out Hanno to recruit from the Spanish tribes, who had successfully gathered a force 4000 strong, but Marcius assaulted his camp and annihilated them. Hanno managed to escape with but a handful of men.

Mago however, had discovered the plot to betray Gades to the Romans and rounded up and arrested the ring-leaders. He was determined to send them to Carthage as prisoners and handed them into the custody of the Carthaginian admiral, Abherbal, who put them on a quinquereme and left with a further eight triremes to Africa, and though Laelius' naval force attacked them as they left, most of the ships escaped to Africa. Laelius returned to Carteia where he learned that the plot had been foiled, and promptly returned to New Carthage along with Marcius' force. Livy tells us Mago's actions after their departure:

...he learned the plot had been foiled,...

...and on receiving intelligence of the renewal of hostilities by the Ilergetes, (due to This defeat broke Carthaginian power in Spain forever and some of the Spanish tribes) *he once more entertained hopes of reconquering Spain. Messengers were dispatched to Carthage, to lay before the senate a highly coloured account of the mutiny in the Roman camp and the defection of the allies of Rome, and at the same time strongly urge that assistance should be sent to him in order that he might win back the heritage left him by his ancestors, the sovereignty of Spain.* (28.31)

After the issue of the Roman mutiny and the Spanish revolt of the Ilergetes was crushed by Scipio at the Ebro, Mago began to lose hope for the recovery of Spain, and made preparations to leave for Africa with what forces he could. Before departing however, he received orders from Carthage to sail to Italy and recruit troops from the Ligures and Gauls and make an effort to join Hannibal. He received an unspecified amount of money in order to do this, and he also, according to Livy, 'wrung all he could could from the people of Gades, not only emptying their treasury but robbing temples and forcing every individual to contribute gold and silver as he possessed' (28.36). Before he left however, Mago made an attempt on New Carthage, sailing along the coast, first raiding the countryside and then making a further attempt on the town which is recorded by Livy as follows:

He received an unspecified amount of money in order to ...

During the day he kept his men on board, and did not disembark them till night. He then took them to that part of the city wall where the Romans had effected the capture of the place; thinking that the city was held by a weak garrison and that there would be a movement amongst some of the townsmen who hoped for a change of masters. The country people, however, who were fleeing from their fields had brought news of the depredations and approach of the enemy. His fleet had also been seen during the day, and it was obvious that they would not have taken their station before the city without some special reason. An armed force was accordingly drawn up outside the gate which faced the sea. The enemy approached the walls in disorder, soldiers and seamen were mixed together, and there was much more noise and tumult than fighting strength. Suddenly the gate was thrown open and the Romans burst out with a cheer; the enemy were thrown into confusion, turned their backs at the very first discharge of missiles and were pursued with heavy loss down to the shore. If the ships had not been brought up close to the beach and so afforded a means of escape, not a single fugitive would have survived. On the ships, too, there was hurry and confusion; the crews drew up the ladders, lest the enemy should clamber on board with their comrades, and cut the cables and hawsers so as not to lose time in weighing anchor. Many who tried to swim to the ships could not see in the darkness what direction to take or what dangers to avoid, and perished miserably. The next day, after the fleet had regained the ocean, it was discovered that 800 men had been killed between the wall and the shore and as many as 2000 arms of different kinds picked up.(28.36)

The enemy approached the walls in disorder...

This paints a fairly damning picture of the forces Mago had to work with at this point. With this failed effort, Mago sailed back to Gades, but discovered the gates were shut to him. He sailed to Cimbii not far from Gades, and sent representatives to the town with complaints about the gates being barred to a friend and ally. The reply he got was about people incensed at his soldiers recent property theft. Mago enticed them to a conference instead, inviting the sufetes of the town along with the treasurer and once they arrived at his location, had them scourged and crucified. He then left for the island of Pityusa (Ibiza) which was inhabited by a Carthaginian populace, where he was welcomed and was supplied generously, including men to supplement the ships crews. With this addition to his strength, Mago sailed for the Balearic Islands, but he did not receive a warm welcome and was thus forced to sail for Minorca, where Mago took possession of the town and adjacent lands, and sent 2000 troops back to Carthage before settling down for the winter. The main town of the island, according to tradition, still bears Mago's name – Mahon.

With this failed effort, Mago sailed back to Gades, but discovered the gates were shut to him.

Mago spent the months leading to summer 205 BC readying an army for an invasion of Italy, and had a force of 12,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, along with 30 warships and a large number of transports. He left with this force and landed on the Ligurian coast unchallenged at sea by the Romans. His sudden appearance helped him capture Genoa. With Genoa now in his hands, he left to stir up more trouble in the hope of causing a rising against Rome, aiming at the coast at the foot of the maritime Alps, where he used the town of Savona as a base, forging an alliance with the Ingauni (a Ligurian tribe). He left ten warships to defend Savona, and sent the rest back to defend the African coast while he began hostilities with the Ingauni's northern Ligurian enemies, the Epanterii Montani. According to Livy, 'his strength grew daily, his name being sufficient to bring Gauls flocking to his standard from every side' (28.46). The Roman senate was alerted to the growing problems in northern Italy from despatches sent by Spurius Lucretius, and orders were given to Marcus Livius to march his slave volunteers from Etruria to Ariminum, whilst Marcus Valerius Laevinus marched the two City legions to Arretium.

Though Livy gives the reason for protecting the African coast for Mago sending his ships back, perhaps the real reason was to get more men, as Livy tells us in the same year (205 BC), Mago received Carthaginian envoys, twenty-five warships, 6000 infantry, 800 cavalrymen, seven elephants and a large sum of money in order to hire further mercenaries in order to meet up and support Hannibal (29.4). Livy reports his actions in trying to convince more of the Gauls and Ligurians to join him against rome at a conference he called after talking with the Carthaginian envoys:

When they were assembled he told them that his mission was to restore them to liberty, and as they could see for themselves reinforcements were being sent to him from home. But it depended upon them what numbers and strength would be available for the war. There were two Roman armies in the field, one in Gaul, the other in Etruria, and he knew as a matter of fact that Spurius Lucretius would unite his forces with M. Livius. A good many thousands of men must be armed if they were to offer an effectual resistance to two Roman generals and two armies. The Gauls assured him that they were perfectly willing to do their part, but as one Roman camp was on their territory and the other just within the frontier of Etruria, almost within sight of them, any attempt to assist the Carthaginians openly would subject their country to an invasion from both sides. Mago must ask from the Gauls only such assistance as they could furnish secretly. As for the Ligurians, the Roman camp was a long way from their cities, they were therefore free to act as they chose, it was right that they should arm their men and take their fair share in the war. The Ligurians raised no objection, they only asked for an interval of two months in which to raise their force. Mago in the meantime after sending the Gauls home began to hire mercenary troops secretly throughout their country, and clandestine supplies were sent to him from the different communities.(29.5)

The Romans meanwhile made preparations to oppose any movement by Mago, and Livius' force joined up with Lucretius' in Gaul. By 204 BC, Mago was clearly considered the main threat for the Romans, with four legions in Cisapline Gaul under the command of SP. Lucretius and Livius Salinator positioned against him, and Livy also reports much of Etruria was ready to switch sides (29.36). Mago advanced into Italy in 203 BC and was brought to battle in the territory of Insubrian Gaul. The following is Livy's account of the battle:

The praetor's legions formed the fighting line; Cornelius kept his in reserve, but rode to the front and took command of one wing, the praetor leading the other, and both of them exhorted the soldiers to make a furious charge on the enemy. When they failed to make any impression upon them, Quintilius said to Cornelius, "As you see, the battle is progressing too slowly; the enemy finding themselves offering an unhoped-for resistance have steeled themselves against fear, there is danger of this fear passing into audacity. We must let loose a hurricane of cavalry against them if we want to shake them and make them give ground. Either, then, you must keep up the fighting at the front and I will bring the cavalry into action, or I will remain here and direct the operations of the first line while you launch the cavalry of the four legions against the enemy." The proconsul left it to the praetor to decide what he would do. Quintilius, accordingly, accompanied by his son Marcus, an enterprising and energetic youth, rode off to the cavalry, ordered them to mount and sent them at once against the enemy. The effect of their charge was heightened by the battle-shout of the legions, and the hostile lines would not have stood their ground, had not Mago, at the first movement of the cavalry, promptly brought his elephants into action. The appearance of these animals, their trumpeting and smell so terrified the horses as to render the assistance of the cavalry futile. When engaged at close quarters and able to use sword and lance the Roman cavalryman was the better fighter, but when carried away by a frightened horse, he was a better target for the Numidian darts. As for the infantry, the twelfth legion had lost a large proportion of their men and were holding their ground more to avoid the disgrace of retreat than from any hope of offering effectual resistance. Nor would they have held it any longer if the thirteenth legion which was in reserve had not been brought up and taken part in the doubtful conflict. To oppose this fresh legion Mago brought up his reserves also. These were Gauls, and the hastati of the eleventh legion had not much trouble in putting them to rout. They then closed up and attacked the elephants who were creating confusion in the Roman infantry ranks. Showering their darts upon them as they crowded together, and hardly ever failing to hit, they drove them all back upon the Carthaginian lines, after four had fallen, severely wounded.

Mago advanced into Italy in 203 BC and was brought to battle in the territory of Insubrian Gaul.

The appearance of these animals, their trumpeting and smell so terrified the horses …

At last the enemy began to give ground, and the whole of the Roman infantry, when they saw the elephants turning against their own side, rushed forward to increase the confusion and panic. As long as Mago kept his station in front, his men retreated slowly and in good order, but when they saw him fall, seriously wounded and carried almost fainting from the field, there was a general flight. The losses of the enemy amounted to 5000 men, and 22 standards were taken. The victory was a far from bloodless one for the Romans, they lost 2300 men in the praetor's army, mostly from the twelfth legion, and amongst them two military tribunes, M. Cosconius and M. Maevius. The thirteenth legion, the last to take part in the action, also had its losses; C. Helvius, a military tribune, fell whilst restoring the battle, and twenty-two members of the cavalry corps, belonging to distinguished families, together with some of the centurions were trampled to death by the elephants. The battle would have lasted longer had not Mago's wound given the Romans the victory. (30.18)

Mago appears to be fairly competent here despite the loss - making good tactical use of his elephants and reserve. It also looks like his infantry were more-or-less well trained, and kept their discipline, until Mago, doing what a good commander should, was wounded whilst rallying his men. Mago managed to retreat back to Genoa, breaking away from the Romans at night, and from there he met recently arrived envoys from Carthage, who now ordered him back to Africa. Probably sometime in the autumn of 203 BC, Mago set sail from Italy. He died on the voyage, finally succumbing to his wound just as the fleet passed Sardinia (Livy, 30.19).

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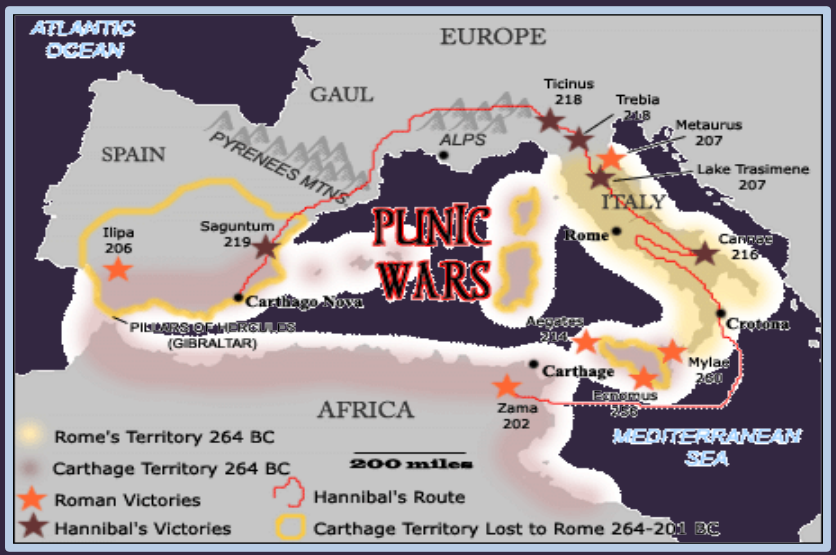
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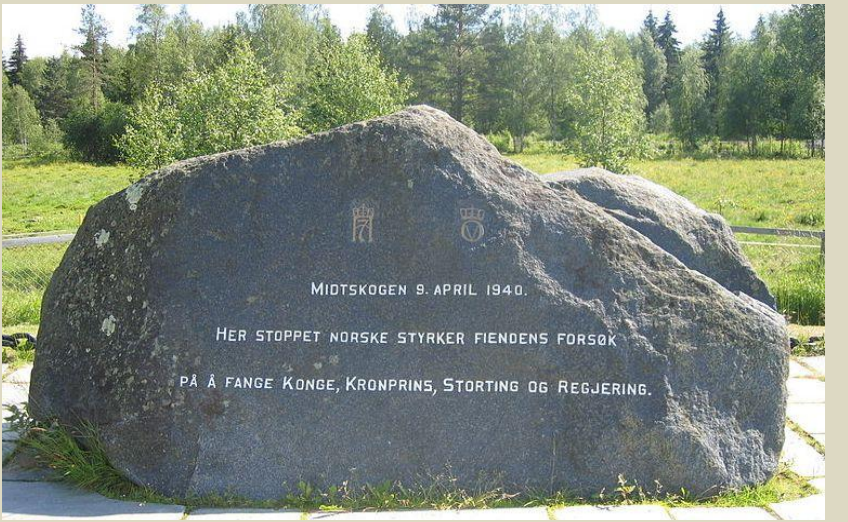
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END

The skirmish at Midtskogen - April 10th 1940

- a short story -



The Midtskogen memorial stone. The date is actually wrong, the skirmish did not start until April 10th. "Here Norwegian forces stopped the enemy's attempt at capturing the King, Crown Prince, parliament and cabinet".

by Fred Leander

The stubborn defense of Oscarsborg Fortress against the German naval force trying to force its way up the Oslofjord and the delayed landings at Fornebu airport outside the capital messed up the original German plan of a wholesale capture of the Norwegian Royal Family, Government and Parliament. Before the intruders finally marched into Oslo in the late morning of April 9ththe Norwegian dignitaries had left in a special train organized by the President of the Parliament, C. J. Hambro. It left Oslo at 0700 in the morning. Five years should pass before the Royal Family was back in their capital. Its first destination was Hamar, a town 100 km. north of Oslo, where parliamentary meetings took place. In the evening the Government and Parliament continued to Elverum, 30 km. farther east, in the direction of the Swedish border. There the Parliament transferred its authority to the government and dissolved itself.

Just outside Elverum was an army camp, Terningmoen, home of the Infantry Shooting and Winter School and the base of Infantry Regimentno. 5, a conscription regiment. There was a good reason for the dignitaries to leave Hamar in haste. Understandably, the Germans were rather *excited* after having lost the golden opportunity of gagging the whole Norwegian parliamentary leadership. Now it could organize the military resistance against the invaders. The person most irritated by this misfortune was the German air attache' in Oslo, Hauptmann (Captain) Spiller. As an officer of the air branch, the Luftwaffe, he quickly saw the opportunity of rectifying the blunder by using the paratroop company that had landed in good order at Fornebu during the day, to make a foray northwards to capture the fleeing Norwegian dignitaries. In the morning, out of pure stupidity, the Norwegian Broadcasting's transmitter in Oslo had informed the public that the Parliament and government had gone to Hamar. Hauptmann Spiller established contact with the paratroop company and *requisitioned* two Norwegian sedans, a truck and three busses manned by Norwegian drivers with little choice to refuse the job. In these vehicles the captain set off to capture what the Germans had missed – 150 km. along wintery roads through enemy territory. He wasn't even sure if there was a war on. He would learn soon enough.

This was a company of the I/1st/7th Flieger division (The only German para-division at the time).Their mission had been to jump over Fornebu in the morning to capture the field before more transports arrived with regular infantry onboard. They had been *lucky* in that the weather deteriorated as they closed the approaches of the Oslofjord and it was decided to turn back and land at Aalborg airfield in Denmark to wait for an improvement in the weather. In the meantime the follow-up transport flights found a way through the low clouds and started the approach towards the airfield in the good faith that it was already in German hands. They were met by heavy machine gun fire from the Norwegian platoon defending the field, initially resulting in heavy losses both in planes and soldiers as they bumped into the ground, many over-running the edge of the field or swerving off the runway. But, as more and more Ju52's landed and their passengers dived out to take up the fight against the defenders they quickly got the upper hand. The paratroopers could land comfortably seated in their transports on an airfield littered with damaged and destroyed transport planes. Added to the chaos had the small, and only, Norwegian fighter squadron that showed up right on time and attacked the Bf110 fighters supposed to give support to the landing force as they came flying north along the fjord. Five German planes were downed by the seven Gloster Gladiator biplane fighters which were serviceable that morning.



Picture above: German paratroopers at Fornebu airport, Oslo, April 9th 1940. The control tower with the restaurant in the background.

One Messerschmitt crash-landed at Fornebu and tipped over the edge of the runway. Another crashed on an open field west of the airport only a few hundred meters from where I once lived. The Gladiators had flown out of Kjeller airfield 20 km. north-east of Oslo.

The paratroopers belonged to the elite forces of the German army (Luftwaffe, really), in top shape and training, the unit was approximately 100 men strong and was armed with 12-14 machine guns, submachine guns and hand grenades, a formidable firepower for its time. The battalion commander, Hauptmann (Captain) Erich Walther, who went along with the motor column, is known to have said: "With these men I can fetch the devil out of hell, his mother-in-law, too". He was promoted major in June 14th 1940 and participated with his battalion in the invasion of Crete in 1941.

But the departure of the paratroopers from Oslo had not gone unobserved. With regular intervals reports of their progress were sent on to the Norwegian General Staff at Eidsvold, Colonel Hatledal at Hamar and the local regiment in Elverum, Infantry Regiment no. 5 (IR5). These messages were conveyed via the civilian telephone exchanges which were mainly served by quick-thinking Norwegian women who were to perform regular similar services as the Germans advanced up through Norway. Due to this information chain the Parliament, Government and the Royal Family were able to get out of Hamar on a special train before the Germans arrived there. They went on to Elverum, 30 km. east of Hamar. Already before any orders were received from the General Staff Colonel Hiorth, CO IR5, had issued orders to establish roadblocks at Midtskogen and Sagstua, a few kilometers west of Elverum.

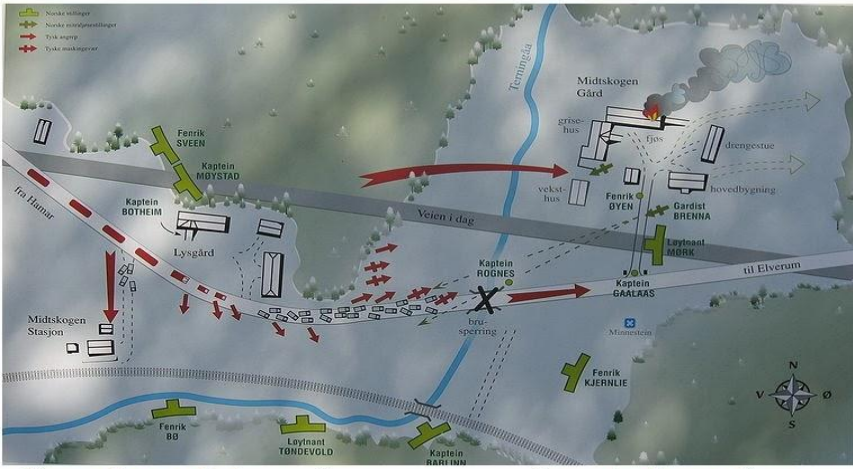
A special event had taken place earlier in the day. Colonel Hiorth had once been a member of the *Nasjonal Samling* party and friend with its present chairman, Vidkun Quisling. That day Quisling had phoned him, presenting himself as *Chief of State*, and demanded that he should arrest the King and his *Marxist* government. Colonel Hiorth refused to do this, instead the former party representative set in motion an action to prevent it.



Picture above: Captain Öioffered the first resistance to the German paratroopers. He was killed when refusing to be disarmed after being stopped in a routine control.

Just north of Oslo, while taking a break, the German column stopped a taxi on its way south. In it was Captain ÖivinnÖi, on his way south on an official mission to investigate the unclear situation in Oslo. He was in full uniform and as the Germans ordered him out of the car to disarm him he resisted and was shot down. This was the first resistance the paratroopers experienced. After that there were several attempts of establishing roadblocks along the route but the Germans were always a little ahead of the Norwegian preparations. It ought to be said that due to the confused general situation on that first day of the invasion the will, or ability, to withstand a determined opponent like the German paratroopers was not always immediately at hand.

Map of the Battle of Midstkogen



German Forces: Red **= MG** **Norwegian Forces: Green**

In the meantime preparations for the defense of the roadblocks west of Elverumwere proceeding quickly. On Terningmoen, the camp commander Major Olaf Helset and CO IR5, organized two platoons of officers and men in the process of arriving to join the regiment, instructors at the Infantry Shooting and Winter School and camp labor troops. The last ones were given a quick instruction in loading and sighting their rifles, most of them had never fired one. The local rifle club was also contacted for volunteers. Captains Barlinn and Möystad were appointed platoon commanders. At Terningmoen was also a company of the Royal Guards under Captein Hagtvedt. They were there for live firing exercises but had not yet fired their machine guns.



Olaf Helset
Lieutenant-General
* 28th of July 1892
† 1960

After the end of the fighting in Norway Major Helset joined the Resistance and was central in assembling the various branches of the fast developing resistance movement. He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1941 but escaped to Sweden where he organized the Norwegian refugees into the Police Troops. After the war he was CIC Norwegian army till 1948 when he retired after disagreements with the Labour government on their defense policy.

Before the Midtskogen defenders moved out to take up their positions all were assembled in the camp officer's mess where the orders were read out for all to hear. Just before the order "execute" was given Colonel Ruge, who was present in the camp by pure coincidence and two days later was appointed CIC of all Norwegian forces, asked to speak to the assembly:

"I would like to add something to what Major Helset has just said. You may not understand the importance of the mission you are now about to participate in. The thing is, our Royal House and Government have now come here to Elverum. A German unit is on its way to take them prisoners. Your mission, gentlemen, is to see to it that this does not happen. Norway's destiny through years to come shall depend on how you perform this mission. Good luck!"



Left: General Otto Ruge was appointed CIC Norwegian Army the day after Midtskogen.

The first Norwegian unit to arrive at Midtskogen, in front of the main defensive position at Sagstua, was a Royal Guards machine gun platoon under the command of Lt. Aasen. Just before midnight the two other platoons arrived, too. The total force was now 93 men commanded by the senior officer at site, Captain Gaalaas. The new arrivals had some difficulty getting in order in the dark night but soon they were ready. The position was horseshoe-formed around the roadblock on the bridge. Firing ranges were extremely short and there was approximately 50 cm. snow outside the road. Major Helset was worried that a mix of civilian refugee cars and the German transport could reach the bridge undetected.

Strict precautions were taken to avoid this, a strong-willed officer, Captain Rognes, was positioned at the bridge to stop all vehicles before they passed. All passengers, without exception, was ordered out of the cars and had to proceed across the bridge on foot. There were cars with families with children, old people and diplomats. The cars were parked crisscrossed beside and in the road. While this resulted in a long impenetrable hindrance for other vehicles it also resulted in a diminished horseshoe-effect for the defenders positions. The machine-gunners now only had a field of fire to the approximate end of the stopped cars. At one o'clock the refugee traffic had stopped almost entirely. It was a moonless, overcast night.

Around 01:30 loud engine noises could be heard in the direction of Hamar. The Germans were coming. Soon the headlights swept over the parked refugee vehicles and the scream of brakes could be heard. Two dark figures ran up to the desolated cars only to turn back at once. At that moment Captain Rognes fired a rifle shot at the first vehicle's headlight – the signal for general opening of fire. The light went out and the Germans stormed out of their cars and buses. Immediately the two Norwegian flanking platoons opened fire. The Germans were heard to shout. "Feige Norweger die zuerstschiessen – cowardly Norwegians that shoot first". This was a shout that would be heard many times during the Norwegian campaign. It was soon followed by an ear-splitting spectacle of fast-firing machine guns, staccato submachine pistols and Very lights. The paratroopers immediately developed and advanced in leaps and bounds towards the fire of the Norwegian platoons on both sides of the road. The superior German firepower soon forced them to withdraw.

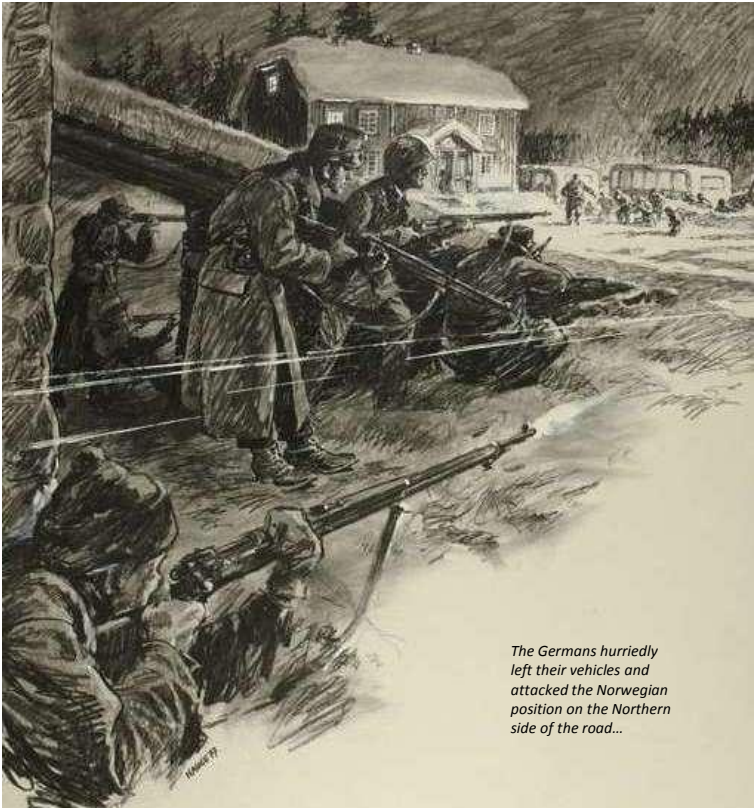


Picture above: Lt. Mörk's water-cooled Colt 1929 machine gun in the alley up to Midtskogen Farm. In the background Captain Rognesfiring his Krag rifle.

After that there was a short break in the firing. Soon after, however, 8-10 men could be seen advancing half-crouched along the road.

They had flashlights with dampened blue light. As there was no reaction from the machine guns at Midtskogen Farm, Lt. Aasen ran up the alley to the farm as Captain Rognes shouted: "Machine guns – fire!" Very little happened, except some single shots. The lubricating oil had frozen. Aasen ordered the Guards machine gunners to continue cycling the mechanisms and went on to the other machine gun. As he lay down by that weapon Guardsman Seeberg was hit and rolled under the barn. With the help of 2nd lt. Öyen and more people from a rearward position it finally started

working. Guardsman Brenna fired two belts, 500 rounds, on the roadblock and along the road, his machine gun was set up for fixed spreading. The second machine gun remained silent. The German fire was on the increase now, there were orders shouted and cries from the wounded. Tracers swept the farm alley and burning branches and debris were blown into the barn. Soon it was on fire.



The Germans hurriedly left their vehicles and attacked the Norwegian position on the Northern side of the road…

Major Helset, observing from the forest edge to the east later wrote. “It was terrific. I had been an instructor on the Shooting and winter School and believed I had a proper background to judge a situation like this. What first came to mind was that with this sort of fire volume we were bound to lose a lot of men. I was glad we had warned the hospital in Elverum to be prepared for numerous casualties during the night, but counting the losses the day after I was quite astonished. There were only a few wounded on our side, no one were killed”.

2nd lieutenant Öyen had taken up position beside a birch tree a little way up the alley to Midtskogen Farm. In-between firing his own rifle he directed the machine gun fire. This was now controlled and steady. The one remaining weapon was served by Guardsman Brenna assisted by Guardsmen Arne Kjosand Reidar Gregersen and led by 2nd lieutenant Halvor Mörk. The platoon on the southern side of the railway line had withdrawn over the railway bridge and taken up new positions there. Their fire was now aimed towards the area north of the road. The German fire increased again. Captains Gaalaas and Rognes were driven back from the road and up the alley to the farm. At the same time a unit of paratroopers closed in on the farm from the west while others crept forward along the main road. Soon they closed up to 2nd lt. Öyen's machine gun from two sides, throwing hand grenades and firing their Schmeisser submachine guns, but they did not storm, the grenades had limited effect in the deep snow.



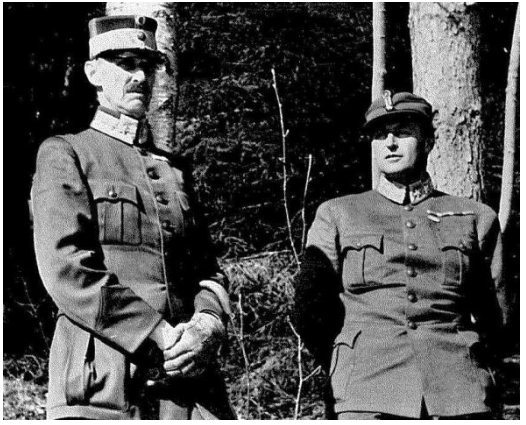
….and in the alley up to Midtskogen Farm.

In spite of the grenades and automatic fire the two officers and their machine gun crew held their position. Captain Gaalaas was recommended to pull back a little but is known to have said: "First I'll kill some more Germans". In the end 2nd lt. Öyen was called back by Gaalaas and ordered the machine gun crew to split the weapon for carrying, in the meantime covering them with fire with his Krag rifle. Lt. Mörk grabbed the water-cooled machine gun while Öyen carried the heavy tripod. In leaps and boundsthey ran over the open snow-covered fields with their heavy burdens. The German fire followed them as the Very lights exposed the running figures. It was not possible to stop to takecover, they just had to keep on. All eventually got back to Sagstua, the main defense position, except for the wounded Guardsman Seeberg that had to be left behind under the barn. The paratroopers did not storm the farm until 03:00. A grenade was thrown in through the barn door and some submachine gun salvos were fired. After that the cows inside the barn were released. A German on a pair of borrowed skis skirted the forest in the east and returned as he shouted "Niemand da! – nobody there".

Now it seemed like the air had gone out of the paras. No wonder as they had been up and in action since early morning the day before. Many had probably not had much sleep during the preceding night, either. But, first of all, the initiator of the raid, Captain Spiller, had been mortally wounded. As delayed as the action now was Hauptmann Walther decided to break it off and return to Oslo. Captain Spiller was driven to Hamar Hospital where he died during the morning.

The result of this first serious land engagement after a hundred-year long period of peace in Norway was very much an encouragement for the Norwegian armed forces. It proved the Army's will to fight in a difficult and confused situation. But its main result was that it frustrated the German attempt to capture the Norwegian leadership at a crucial time. As could be expected the Germans became even more frustrated and went after the Royal Family in an indiscriminate manner. After Elverum the King and his family had taken refuge in the small village of Nybergsund close to the Swedish border. This had obviously come to the knowledge of the Germans as this little place with no military importance at all was immediately bombed by a force of He111 bombers.

The Norwegian losses in this skirmish were light, three wounded, but it seemed the Germans had more losses, there were screams from wounded and bloody bandages were found along the road afterwards. Their losses are not known exactly but figures quoted are 4-6. If that includes Hauptmann Spiller is not known.



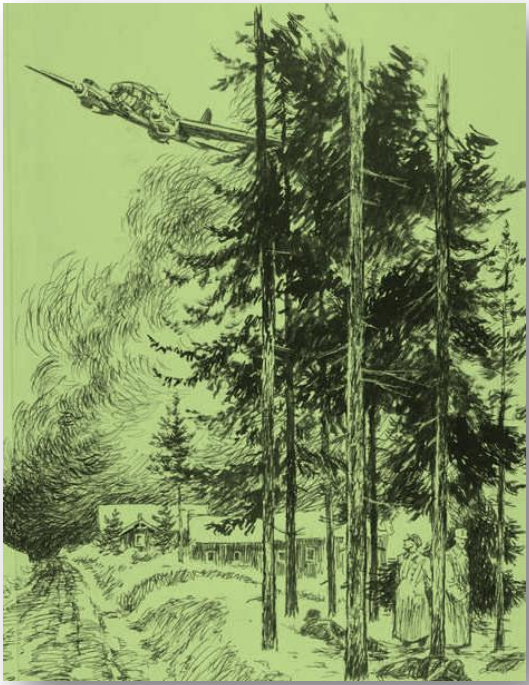
The paratroopers hadn't spilled their guts completely at Midtskogen. On their way back to Oslo they caused a terrific havoc among the various Norwegian units that were moving along their route or assembling in the vicinity of it. When they approached Oslo they trailed a long line of prisoners after them, among them several high-ranking officers. But, that is another story.

A story that is supposedly connected with the fighting at Midtskogen and shows the lack of understanding of the situation in the people as such is about the farmer who was on his way to deliver his horse at Terningmoen, as he was obliged to after the mobilization order had been issued. As he approached the bridge he was swearing loudly as he had to lead the horse out of the road into the snow due to the congestion of cars of all kinds. Captain Rognes shouted to him: "Get the hell out of here, don't you they see the Germans are shooting?" The farmer replied: "They don't shoot with *skarpt* (live ammo), do they?" As this was confirmed by the captain he whipped his horse and disappeared in full career out of the war history.

Drawings by Andreas Hauge - RIP

What happened after Midtskogen? Already later the same day the German ambassador to Norway, Curt Bräuer, came to Elverum for a meeting with King Haakon where he demanded the dismissal of the present government, which had refused to cooperate with the Germans, and instead appoint a new, German-friendly one under Vidkun Quisling. While Bräuer was waiting for an answer the King conferred with the Government. He stated that if they chose to accept Quisling as the new prime minister he would abdicate. They supported the King, Bräuer had to return empty-handed to Oslo. This conference took place in Nybergsund, close by the Swedish border. The next morning the small village was bombed by German Heinkel He111 bombers.

This was the beginning of a long journey for King and government. It ended in Tromsö on June 7th where they entered the British cruiser *Devonshire* after having accepted the British offer to take up residence in the United Kingdom for the duration.



Pictures - above: The King and Crown Prince hiding from German bombers in the forest.
Below: Elverum is burning.



END

Miss Susan B. Anthony Died This Morning

By THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROCHESTER, March 13, 1906-- Miss Susan B. Anthony died at 12:40 o'clock this morning. The end came peacefully. Miss Anthony had been unconscious practically all of the time for more than twenty-four hours, and her death had been almost momentarily expected since last night. Only her wonderful constitution kept her alive.

Dr. M. S. Ricker, her attending physician, said Miss Anthony died of heart disease and pneumonia of both lungs. She had had serious valvular heart trouble for the last six or seven years. Her lungs were practically clear and the pneumonia had yielded to treatment, but the weakness of her heart prevented her recovery.

Miss Anthony was taken ill while on her way home from the National Suffrage Convention in Baltimore. She stopped in New York, where a banquet was to be given Feb. 20 in honor of her eighty-sixth birthday, but she had an attack of neuralgia on Feb. 18 and hastened home. Pneumonia developed after her arrival here, and on March 5 both her lungs became affected. She rallied, but had a relapse three days ago, and the end after that never was in doubt.

Miss Anthony herself had believed that she would recover. Early in her illness she told her friends that she expected to live to be as old as her father, who was over 90 when he died. But on Wednesday she said to her sister:
"Write to Anna Shaw immediately, and tell her I desire that every cent I leave when I pass out of this life shall be given to the fund which Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are raising for the cause. I have given my life and all I am to it, and now I want my last act to be to give it all I have, to the last cent. Tell Anna Shaw to see that this is done."

Miss Shaw said:
"On Sunday, about two hours before she became unconscious, I talked with Miss Anthony, and she said: 'To think I have had more than sixty years of hard struggle for a little liberty, and then to die without it seems so cruel."



Susan Brownell Anthony was a pioneer leader of the cause of woman suffrage, and her energy was tireless in working for what she considered to be the best interests of womankind. At home and abroad she had innumerable friends, not only among those who sympathized with her views, but among those who held opinions radically opposed to her. In recent years her age made it impossible for her to continue active participation in all the movements for the enfranchisement of women with which she had been connected, but she was at the time of her death the Honorary President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, the society which she and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized in 1869.

Miss Anthony possessed a figure of medium size, a firm but rather pleasing face, clear hazel eyes, and dark hair which she always wore combed smoothly over the ears and bound in a coil at the back. She paid much attention to dress and advised those associated in the movement for women suffrage to be punctilious in all matters pertaining to the toilet. For a little over a year in the early fifties she wore a bloomer costume, consisting of a short skirt and a pair of Turkish trousers gathered at the ankles. So great an outcry arose against the innovation both from the pulpit and the press that she was subjected to many indignities, and forced to abandon it.

Miss Anthony was born at South Adams, Mass., on Feb. 15, 1820. Daniel Anthony, her father, a liberal Quaker, was a cotton manufacturer. Susan Anthony was first instructed by teachers at home. She was sent afterward to finish her education at a Friends' boarding school in Philadelphia. She continued to attend this school until, at the age of fifteen, she was occasionally called on to help in the teaching. At seventeen she received a dollar a week with board by teaching in a private family, and the next summer a district school engaged her for $1.50 a week and "boarded her round." She continued to teach until 1852, when she found her taste for this profession entirely gone, a school in Rochester being her last charge.

Miss Anthony had become impressed with the idea that women were suffering great wrongs, and when she abandoned school teaching, having saved only about $300, she determined to enter the lecture field. People of to-day can scarcely understand the strong prejudices Miss Anthony had to live down. In 1851 she called a temperance convention in Albany, admittance to a previous convention having been refused to her because it was not the custom to admit women. The Women's New York State Temperance Society was organized the following year. Through Miss Anthony's exertions and those of Elizabeth Cady Stanton women soon came to be admitted to educational and other conventions, with the right to speak, vote, and act upon committees.

Miss Anthony's active participation in the movement for woman suffrage started in the fifties. As early as 1854 she arranged conventions throughout the State and annually bombarded the Legislature with messages and appeals. She was active in obtaining the passage of the act of the New York Legislature in 1860 giving to married women the possession of their earnings and the guardianship of their children. During the war she was devoted to the Women's Loyal League, which petitioned Congress in favor of the thirteenth amendment. She was also directly interested in the fourteenth amendment, sending a petition in favor of leaving out the word "male."



The famous women's suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony was born in 1820 in a house in Adams, Mass. The house had been built by her father, Daniel Anthony, in 1817. He was a cotton manufacturer and abolitionist who raised Susan in the family's Quaker religion. The family left the house in 1827 and moved to New York State. Their former home, located at 67 East Road in Adams, passed through several owners. From 1926 to 1949, The Society of Friends Descendents owned the house and operated a museum about Susan B. Anthony. After a few unsuccessful attempts by later owners to again make the house a museum, it was purchased at auction in 2006 by Carol Crossed, of the pro-life group Feminists for Life. The restored house opened to the public in 2010 as the Susan B. Anthony Birthplace Museum. It did not open without controversy, however, as there were objections to the museum's presentation of Anthony's position on abortion.



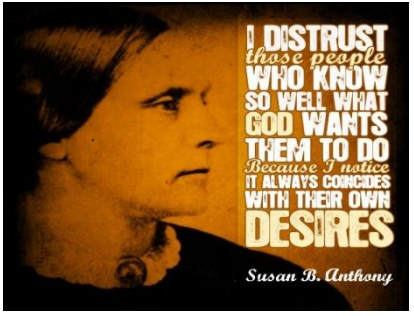
In company with Mrs. Stanton and Lucy Stone, Miss Anthony went to Kansas in 1867, and there obtained 9,000 votes in favor of woman suffrage. The following year, with the co-operation of Mrs. Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, and George Francis Train, she began the publication in this city of a weekly paper called The Revolutionist, devoted to the emancipation of women.

In order to test the application of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments she cast ballots in the State and Congressional election in Rochester in 1872. She was indicted and ordered to pay a fine, but the order was never enforced.

Miss Anthony succeeded Mrs. Stanton as President of the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1892, Mrs. Stanton having resigned because of old age. This office she held until February, 1899, her farewell address being delivered at a meeting of the association in Washington. For a number of years she averaged 100 lectures a year. She engaged in eight different State campaigns for a Constitutional amendment enfranchising women, and hearings before committees of practically every Congress since 1869 were granted to her.

She was the joint author with Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, and Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage of "The History of Woman Suffrage." She also was a frequent contributor to magazines.


The History of Woman Suffrage.




Lucy Stone


L-R
Mrs. Stanton
Miss Anthony

END



WE GOT YOU COVERED LAWYER STUFF

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